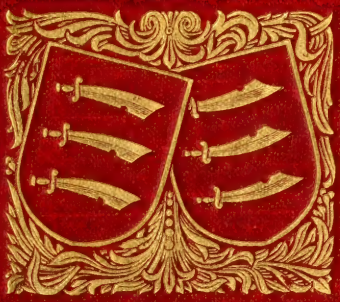
MEMORIALS OF OLD MIDDLESEX



MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

General Editor: REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

MEMORIALS OF OLD MIDDLESEX

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GATEWAY DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES FOR CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX, NOW AT CHISWICK.

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MEMORIALS
OF
OLD MIDDLESEX

EDITED BY
J. TAVENOR-PERRY
AUTHOR OF
A Chronology of Mediæval and Renaissance Architecture
The Mediæval Antiquities of the County of Durham
The Priory of St. Martin, Dover
&c.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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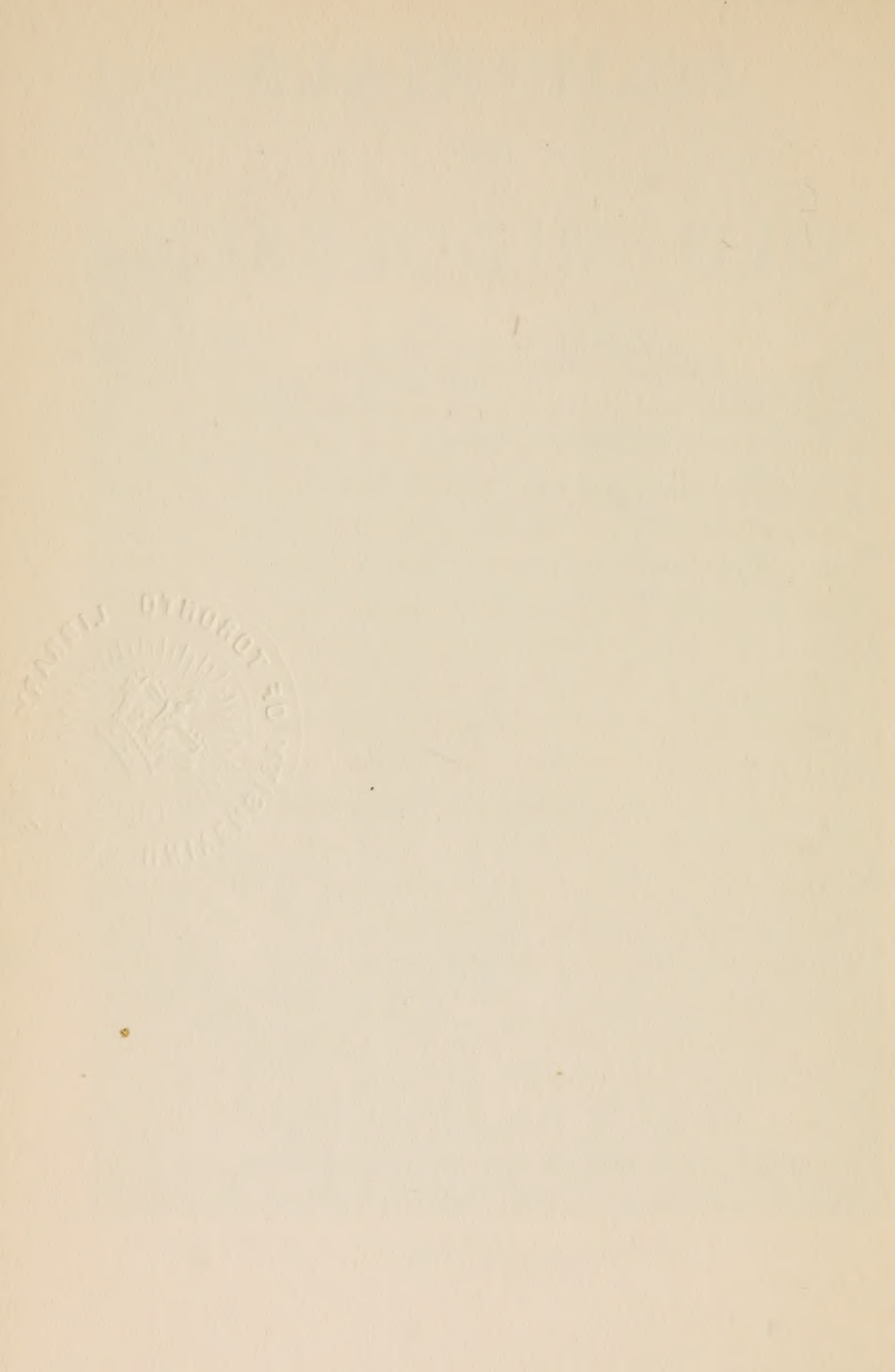

PREFACE

IN the following pages, by the term "Old Middlesex" is intended the historic County as it was known until recent years, exclusive of the ancient cities of London and Westminster; and no regard has been paid to the boundaries of the modern County of London, the creation of the Act of 1888, since they contain within them large portions also of Kent and Surrey, and are as purely arbitrary and as easy of alteration as those of the Metropolitan Police or the Metropolitan Water Board; but all Middlesex, except those two cities, has been included within the scope of this volume.

Small as is the County, the wide range of subjects which offered themselves for consideration, and the limited space of a single volume, made a satisfactory selection difficult; but it is thought that the following chapters will be found to be as representative as interesting. The two papers on the ecclesiology of the County were urgently needed, as perhaps the village churches of Middlesex are less known than those of any other county. The historic houses have been given considerable prominence, for many obvious reasons, and are described by writers who are very specially acquainted

with them and their architectural features. Two have been, however, omitted—Hampton Court Palace, which has been so recently and so adequately described by Mr. Law in three large volumes; and Kensington Palace, which has always formed part of Westminster, although by a recent arrangement or accident it became included in Kensington. Except as incidental to the various subjects, biographical notices have been avoided, since, especially in such a county as this, they would occupy too large a proportion of the book.

The volume, although it deals with things old, is not intended to be merely a collection of archæological papers, but to present in a readable and easily understood form, free from technical terminology, an account of the ancient buildings and events of the past. The illustrations have been carefully selected, and the editor has been fortunate in finding that many of the contributors have been able to add much by their own drawings to the value of their articles; and special thanks are due to the Royal Institute of British Architects for the use of the drawing of the section through the dome of Chiswick Villa, and to Mr. Walter L. Spiers, of the Sir John Soane Museum, for the very beautiful photographs with which his brother's paper is illustrated.

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THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

By J. Tavenor-Perry

AMONG all the counties of England there is, perhaps, not one which seems to possess less individuality, or that is less known as a territorial entity, than the one which contains the great capital of the British Empire. The smoke-cloud of the vast city has so overspread its fields that the country can scarcely be distinguished from the town; or, to change the metaphor, as the light of Mercury is lost in the blaze of the sun's glory, so the dazzle of London has obscured Middlesex.

Middlesex, old in the annals of the State, yet the youngest born of the counties, only received its complete and corporate independence when, by the Local Government Act of 1888, the city sheriffs—one of whom bore the title of Sheriff of London and Middlesex—were relegated to city duties only, and when the County Council of London, with a territory, like a vast modern *promœrium* round the ancient city, carved out of the surrounding country, was established. The portion of Middlesex left—a mere scantlet after London had secured all that it wanted of it—became the new county; but no sooner was its complete independence secured than, partly perhaps on account of it, a new set of circumstances occurred which have already gone far to obliterate its rural aspect, and to make it appear, after all, to be but a suburb of the great city. Coincident with the new Act

tram-lines began to be extended through the outlying districts to the county boundaries, with the unfortunate result that the principal roads, which were of insufficient width for the new class of traffic, had to be widened; the picturesque house fronts in the villages through which they passed were destroyed, the suburban gardens were covered with rows of commonplace shops, and the long lines of elm trees and the hedgerows, which formed so distinguishing a feature of the Middlesex highways, were cut down. Even worse has been the destruction of the countryside aspect of the land bordering on the roads. The cheapened travelling brought the opportunity to the speculating builder, and large districts, which a few years ago were well-timbered parks and open spaces, are now covered with serried ranks of the cheapest villas. The old village inn, with its indescribable quaintness, has given place to the uninteresting red brick beer-shop, the plate-glass windows of which reflect across the railed-in and regulated village green the restored or rebuilt church. Such is modern Middlesex in the making; but it is pleasant to know that many memorials of its bygone history yet remain to us, and to be able to recall to memory many others which have, unfortunately, passed away almost under our own eyes.

The appearance of the County on the map is familiar to every one; it occupies a rough parallelogram extending from east to west twenty-one miles, and from north to south twelve miles, with considerable protuberances at the east end towards the north, and at the west end towards the south. On three sides it is surrounded by water. On the south the Thames, tidal through a large part of its course, flows, with many sinuosities, from west to east; and the rivers Lea and Colne, rising in the higher ground well to the north of the County, flow southwards into the Thames at the east and west ends respectively. The northern frontier is not so distinctly defined, but a broken range of low hills, appearing to be of some

altitude when compared to the country to the south of them, roughly marks the boundary. The general face of the County may be described as an undulating plain falling gently southwards to the Thames, and broken here and there with almost isolated hills, such as Harrow, Highgate and Hampstead, and the whole of the surface is intersected with numerous small rivers and streams, which, following the contours of the land, flow south into the larger river. Of these the most important by far is the Brent (elsewhere described in this volume), and westward of it the smaller rivers known as the Crane and the Exe or Ash, while eastward of it are a number of small streams flowing through Chelsea, Westminster and London, of which little more than a tradition survives, since they have been long since arched over and built over, and find their way by artificial courses into the Thames.

At the earliest dawn of history in this country Middlesex appears to have been an almost uninhabitable waste. All the northern and eastern parts of the County were covered with dense forests, south of which was a belt of heath and scrub, except along the margins of the rivers, where the tidal waters spread themselves over a wide area of marshes. Out of these marsh lands, along the main stream of the Thames, arose slight mounds and banks of drift gravel, on which the earliest settlements in the County seem to have been made; but the land behind them was intersected by backwaters and rills, flushed at every tide, the marks of which may still be traced along the northern side of the river where not obliterated by modern buildings. The much discussed question of whether the Celtic London stood on the north side of the Thames and within the confines of Middlesex may, perhaps, never be satisfactorily answered, but the balance of opinion just now seems to be against this view, and to point out as a more likely site some islet in the marshes of the "Surrey side."

Accepting, then, this theory as correct, we must suppose Middlesex to have been at the time of the Roman invasion a vacant no man's land lying between the surrounding and hostile tribes; and we can thus see how it was that Cæsar had to cross its almost trackless forest and go so far afield as Verulamium to find a foeman worthy of his steel.

During the four hundred years of the Roman occupation the aspect of the County was considerably changed. After the foundation of the colony of Augusta, four main roads were made, branching out from the city to the east, north, north-west and west, cutting through the forest land; and a large part of Middlesex, which formed the principal part of the *pagus* of the new colony, was divided out among the colonists and brought to a great extent under cultivation. Mr. Montague Sharpe, in his little book, *The Roman Centuriation in the Middlesex District*, shows by a very detailed map, founded on actual remains discovered *in situ*, or from other indications, the boundaries of a large number of the *centuriæ*, or divisions, together with numerous by-paths and private roads, traces of which may yet be found in various parts of the county. As these divisions were always of a more or less rectangular form, the roads preserved fairly straight directions, occasionally taking sudden right-angled turns so as to pass by one enclosure that slightly overlapped the adjoining one; and evidences of this peculiarity are still perceptible in a large number of by-roads in the County. By these colonists a large part of the County was brought into agricultural use, the areas of the forest and heath were very much reduced, and this to such an extent in the opinion of Mr. Sharpe that, he says, "Prior to the break up of the Romano-British civilization, the general aspect of the country side within the cultivated portion of Middlesex presented much the same appearance as it did fourteen centuries later in the early Victorian days."

During the long Saxon period, so large a portion of which was either occupied with internecine quarrels or with the defence of the country against the Danes, the land of Middlesex, except in the immediate vicinity of London, fell out of cultivation, and Nature once more resumed her sway. The forests spread again over the cleared lands, the main roads became choked and overgrown with vegetation, and by the time of the Norman Conquest the northern part of the County must have reverted to much the same condition as it was in a thousand years before. But the great western road from Stratford through London to Staines seems to have been kept open, and all the district south of it and along the river side preserved its open character. Indeed many of the riparian villages which had sprung up on the gravel mounds assumed a relative importance, as we shall see later on when we deal with the history of Chelsea, which they did not maintain in after times.

The forest which spread over the northern and eastern parts of the County formed the southern portion of what was known as the "Great Forest of Middlesex," and which, at the close of the Saxon era, covered more than one-third of the whole area of the shire. The principal trees seem to have been oak, beech and hornbeam, with doubtless a thick undergrowth of shrubs, which formed a shelter for the wild animals and birds with which we know the forest abounded. The oak still flourishes throughout the County, and its memory is preserved in Acton, a place of oaks; and the roads are frequently lined with them, as may be seen along the road to Cranford, just off the main Bath road. The deer, wolves, wild boar and wild cattle found in the forest had to be kept down by hunting, and in Saxon times they were driven into enclosed parks formed in the forest to retain them for the purposes of sport, the two principal parks being at Enfield and Ruislip. Besides the fiercer and larger beasts, there was an enormous quantity of foxes,

hares and rabbits, as well as swans, pheasants, partridges and woodcock. The forest was not disafforested until 1218, in the reign of Henry III.; and though by this Act the forest laws were repealed, much of it remained in scattered patches about the County almost into the last century.

The forest of Staines stretched from Brentford to the mouth of the Colne, and was separated from the northern one by the belt of heaths which included those of Hampstead and Hounslow. It was of a much more open character than the great forest, and contained a great deal of swampy ground, such as Sunbury Heath, and was probably of a later growth. For the benefit of the deer with which it abounded, it had been largely planted with sweet chestnut, a tree which flourished in many parts of the County, as at Chiswick, where, in the eighteenth century, the Earl of Grantham planted a great many on his estate at Grove Park, the fruit of which yielded a considerable profit. Staines Forest was disafforested in 1227, and its woodland character must have disappeared at an early date, as the villages which grew up within its borders soon became of importance.

As the forests gradually passed away and the population of the villages increased, much of the land, especially in the southern parts, was brought under cultivation, although the soil naturally is anything but fertile. All the part of Middlesex which borders on the river is alluvial, consisting of sand and gravel, resting generally on clay and chalk; but the copious supply of manure easily obtained in the neighbourhood of a great city has produced an artificial soil, so that the whole area was converted into luxuriant market gardens and orchards of apple, pear, and plum to supply the needs of London; and these, in turn, are rapidly giving way to the ever-encroaching suburban streets.

The rights which the Saxon City of London claimed and exercised over Middlesex it inherited with its

An Oak-lined Road at Cranford.

succession to the Roman Augusta, and these rights, though modified and varied, were claimed until the end of the last century. They were, perhaps, first interfered with by Offa, when he had made Essex subservient to Mercia, and regarded London as included within it, and his interference took the form of granting large portions of the forest of Middlesex to the Abbot of St. Albans, although he does not appear to have attempted to prevent the citizens from exercising their undoubted right of hunting and coursing therein. Offa and his successors gave other portions of land in the southern part of the County to St. Peter of Westminster, so that we find by the time of the Conquest a large proportion of the land of Middlesex, which had belonged to the Roman Colony, had been alienated to these two ecclesiastical establishments. Another event of importance in the history of the County was the treaty made in 886 between Alfred and Gunthrum, which made the river Lea the boundary between the Saxons and Danes. It was thus, for the first time, formally separated from Essex, and obtained the distinctive name and character of a county, but without the usual county privileges, and it still remained under the control and government of London. At the battle of Hastings the men of Middlesex were under the command of Ansgar, the son of Ethelstane, the son of Tofig, who was the Sheriff, or Portreeve, of London, and who had been described in Edward the Confessor's great charter to Westminster Abbey as "Esgar the Minister." When, after the Norman Conquest, the citizens made their terms with William, and received his charter, the position of the County to the city was not interfered with, and is summed up by Professor Freeman in these words: "The Shire of Middlesex is let to the men of London and their heirs to hold in farm of the king and his heirs. And to this day (1888) Middlesex keeps the character of a subject district. It has neither a sheriff chosen by the men of the shire, nor

yet one appointed by a common sovereign. The subject shire has to submit to the authority of a sheriff chosen by the ruling city."

With the completion of the Norman Conquest, the importance of London in relation to the rest of the country considerably increased, and this hastened the

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF MIDDLESEX, SHOWING THE NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL RIVERS.

development of Middlesex. It led also to the clearance of the woodlands, which not only permitted the spread of the villages, but modified to a great extent the physical aspect of the County. A glance at the sketch-map (fig. 1) will show how numerous were the rivers and streams; and when a large proportion of

the land was covered with forest trees the rainfall must have been considerable, and not only were the watercourses filled, but the low-lying lands next the Thames were frequently flooded. But so great was the diminution in the volume of the streams, resulting from these clearances, that eventually artificial channels had to be opened, connected with the larger rivers to supply the lack, and these artificial streams form a feature somewhat peculiar to this County. The first of the streams to be reinforced was the river Crane, which rises in the high land about Pinner and Harrow, where it is first known as the Yedding brook. After passing under Cranford Bridge, where it first assumes its name of Crane, it takes a circular course across Hounslow Heath, and, skirting Twickenham, falls into the Thames at the back of Isleworth eyot. A little above Twickenham the abbess and convent of Syon possessed a water-mill, the site of which may be marked by the present disused oil mills, which suffered from an insufficiency of water, to remedy which they cut a canal some five miles long from one of the arms of the Colne and connected it with the Crane, and thus increased its volume. The point of junction is by the Hounslow Powder Mills, where the water spreads out into a considerable lake, which, closely surrounded as it is with foliage, makes in summer time a favourite haunt for the painter. As the convent, however, possessed another mill nearer to Isleworth, which the Crane did not serve, they cut a second canal, some two miles long, from that river to a position lower down the Thames, and athwart it to this day stands a flour-mill. One of the possessors of Syon House, subsequent to the Dissolution, lengthened this canal so as to supply the ponds in Syon Park, and all the canal from the Crane to the park now passes under the name of the "Duke's River."

A much larger work, formed to increase the water supply of Hampton Court Palace, was the canal known as

the "Longford River," from the name of the place whence it issues from the Colne, which was made by Charles I. When Wolsey first built the palace he provided a very complete supply of fresh spring water, brought in lead mains under the bed of the river from Coombe, in Surrey; and although this supply was ample for drinking purposes, and has, in fact, only been disused within the last few years, it was manifestly insufficient for the fountains, ornamental waters, and other purposes necessary when the house became a royal residence. Accordingly, in 1638, Charles issued a commission to consider how the waters of the Colne could be brought over Hounslow Heath into the park "for the better accommodation of the Palace and the recreation and disport of His Majesty."

There seem to have been some disused water-courses running in the direction required, with which an old outlet from Bushey Park by Hampton Wick may have been connected, and the task was found to be an easy one. A canal eleven miles long and twenty-one feet wide was formed, with an overflow into the Thames, opposite to Molesey, at the comparatively small cost of £4,102. Many of the residents of Hanworth, Bedfont and Hampton, through whose lands the canal passed, objected to it, and during the time of the Rebellion attempted to stop it up by throwing in refuse and letting down the bridges, but Cromwell, when he went to reside at the palace, had it cleaned out and repaired. It is still running, and not only fills the canals, but supplies the fountains and the drinking-water of the inhabitants.

The "New River," the most important artificial water-course within the County, except the modern traffic canals, although first authorised by Queen Elizabeth, was not begun until 1609, when Hugh Middelton took the matter in hand and completed it in 1613. Although passing through Hertfordshire and Middlesex, it was made solely for the benefit of London, and its history belongs to that City; but it may be mentioned as having this

distinction among city financial schemes, that it ruined its promoters and enriched its shareholders.

Middlesex contains no royal residence, for Hampton Court is a palace only in name, and Kensington is really in the city of Westminster, although a few years ago, in the re-arrangement of boundaries, it was for some sentimental reason included in Kensington parish. Many of our sovereigns have resided, at one time or another, in different parts of the County, and there were palaces or royal manors at Enfield, Isleworth, Stepney, Hampton, Chelsea and Hanworth, but, except Hampton Court, none of these have been occupied since the days of the Tudors. More remarkable even than this is the utter absence of castles outside the limits of London; and the Tower was not built so much as a castle for the defence of the City, but to overawe the citizens. In the royal licenses to crenellate, granted between the years 42 Henry III. and 19 Edward IV., the county is only twice mentioned outside the cities of London and Westminster, and these are in 1 Edward II., when leave was granted to Johannes de Benstede to fortify his mansion of Rosemont at *Eye juxta Westmonastes*, which was the manor house of Ea, or Ebury, in the modern Pimlico, and 21 Edward III., to Humfrey de Bohun for his manor house of Enfield.

Although Middlesex was rich in village church architecture (as the next chapter in this volume will show), its monastic establishments outside the two cities were very few, and they have left behind them no picturesque ruins. Of these, by far the richest and most important is the convent of Syon, which is separately dealt with by Dr. Cox; and there were the two nunneries of Kilburn, which was a cell to Westminster, and St Leonard's, Bromley. Bentley Priory was founded for Austin Canons by Randulf de Glanvil in 1171; at Hampton was a Commandry of Knights Hospitallers; at Hounslow was an establishment of the Maturins, or Friars of the Holy Trinity; and at Brentford End, in

Isleworth, was a foundation under the title of *Ecclesia omniun angelorum*, which was a small fraternity of religious men.

Until the passing of the County Councils Act, Middlesex, having no corporate existence, had no claim to any armorial bearings; but some, at one time or another, had been assigned to it in a wholly unauthorised way. Thus, in vol. iii. of Coxe's *Magna Britannia et Hibernia* is an engraving of such a coat, which is neither more nor less than that of the extinct See of Westminster. Mr. Fox-Davies quotes, however, the arms given by Berry as those in common use, as "gules, three seaxes fesseways proper, pommels and hilts to the dexter, or." Unfortunately, the newly-constituted council did not apply for permission to use these or any arms, but engraved them on their official seal with the difference that they reversed the seaxes by turning them upside down.

Such is the outline of the story of the County, which will be filled in by the following chapters; but another and more concise history, given by Dr. Peter Heylyn in his *Help to English History*, written during the Stuart period, is worth quoting. He says:

Middlesex is a part of the Trinobantes lying upon the banks of the River Thames. A county not so large as others, but far more remarkable for sumptuous houses, well-built villages, a fertile soyle, and temperate air; and which addeth most unto it, for the great cities of London and Westminster, which are seated in it, and for the constant Residence of the Court, the Receptacle and aboad of the Kings of England, who have made this County happy above others with their Royal Mansions, Whitehall and Hampton Court, Somerset House and St. James, still in the possession of the Crown; Enfield and Hanworth aliened now, have either been the chief aboads, or retiring places of our Kings and Princes. In which regard the Kings of Engl, anciently (as Cambden notes it) vouchsafed the title of *Middlesex* unto none, neither Duke, Marquesse, Earl, nor Baron, although I know not by what popular error, the citizens of London reckoned the Lord Mayor Elect, for Earl of Middlesex. Which whatsoever ground it had, hath now none to stand on, that title being not long since bestowed on Lionel, Lord Cranfield, Lord Treasurer of England, created Earl of Middlesex, September 17th, 1622.

Small as Middlesex is, it contains within itself three complete county organisations of lords lieutenant, sheriffs, and councils, the lieutenancy of the City of London being in commission. The Acts of 1888 and 1899, which brought these divided authorities into being, were obviously only an attempt at a compromise, as the great City Corporation was unwilling, or unable, at that time, to take the position which its wealth, its organisation, and its prestige so eminently fitted it to fill; but it is to be hoped that, at some not distant day, a new Act, which the rapid growth of the suburbs is even now calling for, may replace the Lord Mayor in the paramount position with which history and long usage have associated his office, and make the sheriff once again what he was for a thousand years past—Sheriff of London and Middlesex.

THE ANCIENT CHURCHES OF MIDDLESEX

By the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

IT is a hard matter to deal, however cursorily, with the old parish churches of a county in a single essay, even though the shire be as limited in area as that of Middlesex, and exclusive of the cities of London and Westminster. In making this attempt, the plan will be adopted of giving a much condensed summary of the general and particular features of the Middlesex churches, followed by short, special accounts of those that retain ancient features in alphabetical order. Outside the area of the cities of London and Westminster, but within the modern boundaries of the "County of London," are a number of new churches which have taken the place of older foundations, such as Paddington, Islington, and Marylebone, of which no account is given herein; but those of St. Pancras, Hackney, Stepney, and Stratford-at-Bow are referred to for their special associations or the remains of old work which they still possess. The churches of Chelsea, Fulham, and Harrow, and the tower of New Brentford, are not included, as they are dealt with elsewhere in this volume.

As to the past condition of these churches, there are two chief authorities—Lysons, who wrote the *Environs of London* in 1795, and on the parts of Middlesex not included in those volumes in 1800; and more especially

a small but admirable little volume by the Rev. J. H. Sperling, entitled *Church Walks in Middlesex*, first published in 1849, and of which a second enlarged edition appeared in 1853.

The absence of building stone in this county, and the difficulties of carriage, caused the fabric of by far the greater part of the old Middlesex churches to be chiefly composed of rubble, such as pebbles, untrimmed flints, and pudding stone, with quoins and dressings of clunch from the adjacent counties of Hertford and Surrey. In a few cases good Ketton stone from Rutland is used in the windows and doorways. Stone was more freely used in the riverside churches, where use was naturally made of the Thames to supply water-borne material, some of which came over the seas from Caen. In the north-west of the county, as at Hayes, Hillingdon, and Ruislip, the walls are not infrequently faced with dressed black flints; but there is none of the elaborate flushwork, in patterns formed of flints and freestone, so much used in the eastern counties. There is, however, some chequer work to be noted on the tower of Stanwell and on the south side of Shepperton. Purbeck marble from Dorsetshire was not only brought here in large blocks for fonts, as at Harmondsworth, Ruislip, and two or three other cases; but was used in occasional decorative work, as in the thirteenth century piscina shafts at West Drayton, and in the fourteenth century work of the chancel arcades of Stanwell; it was also used in a variety of monuments.

With regard to the approximate dates or periods of the extant old churches, they will be found to cover several centuries.

As to pre-Norman or Anglo-Saxon, early ecclesiologists such as Messrs. Rickman, Parker, and Bloxam, as well as that recent writer, Professor Baldwin Brown, place Kingsbury among those churches that were erected in stone before the Conquest. Their conclusions were

mainly arrived at from the long and short work of the quoins of the building. In this conclusion they are undoubtedly right. That being the case, the churches of both Cowley and Bedfont must, with equal certainty, be assigned to the like period, as they have identical quoins with Kingsbury, as well as several other early features. It is also possible that the basements or lowest stages of one or two of the towers, such as those of Hendon and Hayes, include some pre-Norman construction in the walling.

Elaborate work of the Norman period is to be found in the south doorways of Harlington and Harmondsworth, in the west doorway of Harrow, and good examples in the south entrance and chancel arch of Bedfont. The subsequent descriptions show that the style can also be noted at Cowley, Friern Barnet, Kingsbury, Laleham, and Perivale, whilst there are fragments at Edmonton and Finchley.

The best example of a First Pointed or Early English church on a small scale is at Littleton. Portions of this style are also to be noted at Bedfont, Cowley, Harmondsworth, Harrow, Hayes, Stanwell, and Willesden.

Of the Middle Pointed or Decorated style the nave of the small church of Northolt is a good instance; certain work of this period can also be studied at Enfield, Harefield, Harlington, Ickenham, and Stanwell.

Third Pointed or Perpendicular can be seen in almost every church, particularly in windows renewed or freshly inserted throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Some of the best Middlesex work of this style, though much restored, is at West Drayton, whilst the north aisle and chapel of South Mimms is a good example of the close of the period. Clerestories of fifteenth century date over nave arcades occur at Enfield, Finchley, Harrow, Hendon, Littleton, Pinner, Stanwell, and West Drayton. But the special feature of this century which predominates in Middlesex, as, indeed, in many other

English counties, is the substantial western tower, brought about to a great extent by the general desire of the church folk of almost every parish to possess a ring of bells. These Middlesex towers extend in date right through the fifteenth century, but vary very little in general characteristics. Chiswick was built before 1425, Hadley is dated 1494, whilst Hornsey is in the early years of the next century. Whether built throughout of stone or of rubble, or of flints with stone facings, they usually have a projecting newel turret at one of the angles, the embattled summit of which is some few feet higher than the rest of the battlements. Heston is one of the best examples. The majority of them have square-headed bell-chamber windows—a most unusual tower feature in many counties; such is the arrangement of the towers of New Brentford, Chiswick, Edmonton, Finchley, Harlington, Hendon, Heston, Isleworth, Pinner, Ruislip, Twickenham, and South Mimms. This was also the case at Bow, Hadley, Hornsey and Stepney, until the alterations of the last two centuries. In several cases the turrets were capped by eighteenth century cupolas, containing a bell, on which the clock strikes or was intended to strike. Such cupolas, which, curiously enough, give dignity to a Gothic tower and ought never to be removed, may still be noticed on the towers of Harlington, Harmondsworth, Hillingdon, and West Drayton.

Middlesex possessed and still possesses in the less populous rural parts various small early churches consisting only of chancel and nave; to these a substantial western tower, even if the money had been forthcoming, would have proved an unsuitable addition. The county, though stoneless, was always well wooded, and when this craving for substantial bell-towers set in, the attention of the less wealthy parishes was naturally turned, as in Essex and North Hants, to timber as a substitute. There are two examples of wooden towers built up as additions at the west end from the ground,

namely, those of Greenford and Perivale. In other cases substantial square wooden belfries were affixed over the western bay of the nave, usually surmounted by a short spire of the same material, and supported within the church by great baulks of timber springing from the floor. This is the case at Cowley, Ickenham, Kingsbury, and Northolt, and used to prevail until recent years at Friern Barnet and Norwood. Bedfont tower, of stone base, with wooden belfry and spire above it, is the recent successor of another of the same stamp.

Timber was also much used in the construction of porches, generally effectively carved and with good verge boards. The restorers have cleared away not a few of these, whose general date was about the close of the fifteenth century. One of the best of the survivors is at Harlington. A certain amount of old timber remains in the porches of Greenford, Hayes, Harmondsworth, Ickenham, Northolt, and Norwood. Perivale timber porch is of Jacobean date.

Brick came largely into use towards the close of the fifteenth century for church building and repairs in some of the stoneless districts of England; this is notably the case in certain parts of Essex, where brickwork is occasionally used with most happy effect. Of good pre-Reformation Middlesex brickwork, the large porch of Tottenham church, the clerestory of Littleton, and the north chapel of Laleham church may be mentioned. In the last of these cases, the moulded bricks of the windows have been originally coated with a thin layer of plaster to produce a stone effect, a form of treatment which was not unusual. The 1526 north aisle of South Mimms is of brick. The old church of Stanmore, erected in 1632, is a really noble piece of effective, massive brickwork, though now almost buried in ivy and half ruined. Bricks were used at a later date after a clumsy fashion or in cheap repairs, as at Laleham, Littleton, Northolt, and Tottenham. During the eighteenth century, various

Middlesex churches were entirely rebuilt in brick, the stone towers only being spared; such were Isleworth (1705), Twickenham (1713), Cranford (1716), New Brentford (1762), Edgware (1765, renewed in 1845), and Chiswick (1772, since rebuilt), and also Hornsey in 1836. Parish churches that have been completely rebuilt, mostly in the first instance in brick, are Acton (1660, 1766, 1865, tower 1877), Ashford (1802, 1858), Ealing (1782, 1866, 1873), Feltham (1802, 1856), Hampton (1830), Hanwell (1782, 1841), Teddington (various dates), and Sunbury (1752).

Unhappily, too, the finer churches of the county which have been restored were treated for the most part after a drastic and destructive fashion, such as would not have prevailed if the restoration could have been deferred until better notions had gained the upper hand. Among the most notable of the fierce restorations are those of Hadley, Harrow, Hayes, Hillington, Pinner, Ruislip, and, above all, West Drayton.

The fonts are of varied periods and considerable interest, though in the majority of cases "new lamps" have been preferred to old. There are good Norman fonts at Harrow, Hendon, and Willesden; Transition at Harlington, Hayes, and Ruislip; First Pointed at Cowley (mutilated), Harmondsworth, Littleton, and South Mimms; Third Pointed at Brentford, Hadley, Harefield, Hornsey, Northolt, Norwood, Perivale, Pinner, Shepperton, Uxbridge, and West Drayton. The last of these is the most noteworthy. Greenford and Stanmore are effective examples of seventeenth century fonts; the latter is the work of the sculptor Nicholas Stone. At Heston and Littleton are exceptional and well-carved mediæval font covers, whilst the post-Reformation covers at Stanmore, Northolt, Greenford, and Perivale are all good of their kind.

Mediæval sedilia remain at Enfield, Harmondsworth, Hayes, Stanwell, and Stepney (restored). Among various

piscinas still extant may be mentioned those of Hadley, Harefield, Harmondsworth, Hayes, Heston, Ickenham, Northolt, South Mimms, and West Drayton. There are a few instances of mutilated holy-water stoups, as at West Drayton, Ickenham, Perivale, and Northolt; while at Heston there is an external one at the porch entrance in remarkably good preservation. At Harlington there is a noteworthy Easter Sepulchre, which appears to have hitherto escaped observation.

Of timber-work other than that used in towers and porches, roofs are the most important feature; and in this particular the restorations of the last half-century have been especially destructive. In a few churches, such as Bedfont, Cowley, Harmondsworth, Northolt, and Perivale, the naves retain simple tie-beam and king-post roofs, which date from about the close of the fifteenth century. A good deal of the old cradle-roof, with bosses at the intersection of the timbers, remains over the nave of Hayes; whilst the early fifteenth century excellent roof of Ruislip chancel, wherein a series of curved braces form a kind of semi-circular vault, retains much of the old construction.

The traces of rood-screens and other screenwork, as well as rood-stairways, are separately treated in this work. Here it need only be mentioned that parts of rood-screens remain at Cowley and Hayes, and parcloses at Harefield and South Mimms.

Open oak seats of pre-Reformation date, having well-made buttressed standard ends, used to prevail in various of the Middlesex churches, but restoration has swept most of them away; they have, however, been suffered to remain at Harmondsworth and Littleton, whilst a few are left at Ruislip. Three poppy-head stall standards may be seen at Cowley. The stalls at Harefield are of foreign importation.

There are exceptionally few church chests remaining. A fine and unusual example is to be seen in the vestry

of Littleton church, but it is almost certainly of secular origin. There are two good instances in Ruislip church and one at West Drayton; all three are of the first half of the fifteenth century.

As to monuments, there is a singular dearth of early examples of any kind. The knightly families of the county seem to have preferred to obtain interment in the larger churches of London, or in those pertaining to monastic establishments. The lack of incised or slightly carved memorial stones or coffin-lids is doubtless owing in the main to the scarcity of stone. We have only noticed two of this description in the county—the one of quite early date in the churchyard of Shepperton, the other a large one of the sixteenth century at Hornsey, incised with three effigies.

Of brasses there are a large number extant, though certainly only a fraction of those originally laid down. Not a few have disappeared during modern restoration, notably three from Harrow and two from Cowley. They are particularly to be noticed in the churches of Cranford (palimpsest), Edmonton, Enfield, Finchley, Greenford, Hackney, Hadley, Harefield, Harlington (palimpsest), Harrow (palimpsest), Hayes, Hillingdon, Ickenham, Isleworth (palimpsest), Northolt (palimpsest), Ruislip, South Mimms (French inscription), and West Drayton. Of all these, the only one of decided first rank is that of Lady Tiptoft at Enfield; it has been several times engraved. Examples at Harrow and Hillingdon are also exceptionally noteworthy. Those who desire further information as to the brasses of this county should consult, in addition to the standard work of Haines, Mr. Mill Stephenson's essay on the "Brasses of Middlesex" in vol. iv. of the *Proceedings of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society* (1898).

There are no pre-Reformation stone effigies. The first half of the seventeenth century was prolific in large mural monuments with kneeling figures, usually of

painted alabaster; such are to be seen at Cranford, Enfield, Finchley, Greenford, Harefield, and Tottenham. A few monuments of this period preserve the recumbent figure, as the Countess of Derby at Harefield and Sir John Wolstenholm at Stanmore. The alabaster effigy of a lady at Hadley, *c.* 1450, has disappeared. Nicholas Stone, a most notable statuary, sculptor, and monumental mason (1586-1647), has left beautiful examples of his skill in the churches of Cranford, Enfield, Hadley, Stanmore, and Stanwell.

As to old glass, the restorers have swept away many interesting fragments and larger remains noted by Lysons and Sperling. At South Mimms there are some noteworthy portions of early sixteenth century, and in the chancel windows of Greenford are a large number of old fragments; but the latter have no connection with the church—they were collected and placed there about a century ago by a former rector. There is also some old Continental glass at Tottenham. Sperling writes of the large number of churches that possessed old-patterned quarries in their windows in his day. These seem all to have vanished, with the exception of a few in a north chancel window at Bedfont. When Hadley church was restored in 1843, and all the windows renewed, those that were not filled with painted subjects were glazed with Powell's clever imitations of mediæval yellow and white quarries, then a new manufacture. It is amusing to learn that a number of these quarries have quite recently been removed, reverently packed, and transhipped to America, where they have been placed in a United States church as mediæval relics!

Those who are interested in altar plate should consult Mr. Freshfield's admirable illustrated work (1897) on *The Plate of the Churches of Middlesex*. Reference is made in the following accounts of the respective churches to the pre-Reformation chalice and paten at West Drayton, and also to the exceptionally fine set at Hadley. At

Hayes there is a handsome Spanish silver chalice of late seventeenth century date. The following churches have Elizabethan chalices: Harefield (1561), Edgware (1562), and Ruislip (1595). Harrow has a paten of 1568.

Interesting old wall-paintings have been from time to time uncovered in Middlesex churches, notably at West Drayton, but these have all disappeared save at Bedfont and Ruislip. The only church where old encaustic tiles have been noted is that of Hayes. It may here be remarked that Hayes and Heston possess valuable old lych-gates at the entrance to the churchyards; the former has a quaint pulley arrangement for opening and closing.

When Sperling wrote, sixty years ago, he stated that the general condition of the churches had greatly improved within the last ten years; but he specified ten churches by name which were in "a disgraceful state of neglect and dilapidation." No one at the present time could possibly make a like remark. In every case save one, the Middlesex churches are now in good order and decently equipped for public worship. The exception, a fast-locked, most slovenly kept church, is a particularly sad instance, for which the parishioners are in no sense responsible. Not so long ago it was in admirable order, and always open. It is one of the unhappy cases of the sale of an advowson. During visits in 1908 to forty-four old Middlesex churches, twenty-nine were found to be open.

BEDFONT church (St. Mary) was originally a small, early building, consisting only of nave and chancel. To this was added a wooden belfry and short spire, probably towards the end of the fifteenth century. In 1829 "a huge transeptal excrescence," as Sperling has it, was added, involving the sacrifice of the whole north wall of the nave. A considerable restoration was undertaken in 1866. A south-western tower, with basement of flint and stone, and surmounted by a heavy wooden belfry

and four-faced spire, was erected, with a new clock, in commemoration of the coronation of Edward VII. The "long and short" quoins at the south-east angle of the nave, and the general nature of much of the old walling—an amalgam of pebbles and pudding-stone—point unmistakably to pre-Conquest times. Immediately to the east of the modern south porch is a small round-headed light, slightly splayed on the outside and widely splayed within. On the north side of the chancel, about nine feet from the east end, are signs of where the first small chancel ended, and, high up, is one other small early light. All these features indicate a Saxon church. This first stone church was taken in hand by Norman masons in the eleventh century. To this period belongs the small chancel arch, enriched with continuous chevron mouldings. The south doorway is of the same date; it also has two orders of chevron mouldings continued down the jambs. The chancel was extended in the first half of the thirteenth century. Two single lancets and a pair of lancet lights remain. The three-light east window is of late fifteenth century date, and the south windows in the west walls of the nave show some work of the like period. Some quarries of old glass, bearing the white rose of York, which used to be in the east window, are now in the north chancel window. In the south nave wall, close to the chancel, is a *c.* 1500 projection in brick, which formerly encased the stairs to the rood-loft. There are fine old tie-beams to the roof of the nave, carrying moulded king-posts. The font, a good imitation of thirteenth century work, dates from 1866.

The restoration of 1864 brought to light two somewhat singular arched recesses in the north-east angle of the nave close to the chancel arch. The niche facing south bears a well-designed wall-painting, outlined in deep red, of the Doom, enclosed in a quatrefoil; the one facing west had the Rood, with SS. Mary and John.

These paintings are of thirteenth century date, and were probably executed when the chancel was extended.

Against the north chancel wall are the small brass figures of Matthew Page, 1631, and his mother, Isabel, 1629. A wooden mural tablet bears an elaborately painted coat of arms, with crest and mantling, commemorating Thomas Weldish, 1640. During the restoration of 1866, a highly interesting floor-stone was carelessly ejected from the chancel; it now stands, half-hidden by ivy, against the east wall of the churchyard. It is inscribed to the memory of another member of the Page family, who died in 1678, aged 84. A delightful couplet states that—

> A vertuous life and good old age
> Perfumed the memory of Francis Page.

A few words in Latin at the base of the stone states that it was erected by John Page, his son, merchant of Virginia. In 1887 a lineal descendant of Francis Page (who, as a Royalist, had fled this country during the Commonwealth), Richard C. M. Page, M.D., of New York, visited Bedfont, and, finding his ancestor's tomb ejected, had it copied in brass and replaced in the centre of the chancel floor.

Bedfont churchyard is memorable for a celebrated example of the topiarists' unnatural art. Two yews, flanking the path leading to the south entrance, were tortured, clipped, and trained to form round the base the date 1704, and the initials J. H., J. G., and R. T. Branches were trained to form an arch in the centre, and the summit of each tree was eventually clipped into a peacock. These trees and peacocks, after many years of neglect, are now again carefully clipped and tended. A foolish legend, as to which Hood wrote a feeble poem, is still extant to the effect that the trees and initials represent two proud sisters who rejected the hand of a neighbouring squire. The initials, in truth,

are those of John Goodwin, vicar of Bedfont, and of John Hatchett and Robert Tillyer, the two churchwardens who held office in 1704.

BROMLEY-BY-BOW.—The old church of Bromley-by-Bow was originally the quire of the conventual church of the Benedictine nunnery of St. Leonard, the famed "Scole of Stratford atte bowe" mentioned in Chaucer's *Tale of the Nonne Prioresse.* Nothing, alas! now remains of it save two small portions of walling at the eastern angles of the nave of the present church. All the rest of the old building was taken down and reconstructed in 1842-3. The north aisle and porch were erected in 1874. At the west end of the nave is a large semi-circular arch, with imitation Norman mouldings. This is said to be a reproduction of the arch which formerly stood in the same place; it must have marked the division between the quire and nave of the nuns' church. On the floor of the tower is a large slab of Purbeck marble, with the matrix of a fine two-figured brass; it formerly bore the effigies of John de Bohun, 1336, and his wife.

Several of the monuments were removed from the walls of the old church and replaced in its successor. Some of them are good examples of seventeenth century heraldic and decorative treatment. Two of the oldest and most noteworthy are those which commemorate William Ferrers, 1625, and Sir John Jacob, 1629. There are also various interesting monuments of late seventeenth and eighteenth century date in the churchyard, including several to Huguenot families.

CHISWICK church (St. Nicholas) is one of the many old Middlesex churches of which the tower is the only remnant of the old fabric. The chancel was rebuilt about 1570 after a debased fashion, and the nave and aisles in brick in the year 1772. The whole body of the church was again rebuilt, after a somewhat imposing fashion, in 1884, by Mr. Pearson, R.A. The embattled

three-staged west tower is a plain example of fifteenth century work, with south-east newel turret and western diagonal buttresses. A mural slab beneath the tower gives the exact date of its erection:—

Mr. William Bordell principal vicar of this church of Chisswicke was founder of ye steeple of ye same. He dyde ye xv day of October in ye yeare of Our Lord MCCCCXXV., both wch appeare in the brass on his tombstone in this church, wch monument of this worthy benefactor being by William Walter his successor happyly preserved from being lost is now in this stone comended to ye lasting memory of posteritie by ye right honorable and truly noble Lord Francis Russell Earl of Bedford. Anno domini MDCXXXI.

In the church is the monument, with kneeling effigies, of Sir Thomas Chaloner and wife. He was tutor to Henry, Prince of Wales, and died 1615.

COWLEY has a small village church (St. Laurence) consisting of chancel and nave, with a wooden belfry and short spire at the west end. This is one of the three Middlesex churches which show undoubted traces of Saxon foundation. The quoins of the nave show unmistakable "long and short" work. There are two early deeply-splayed lights in the north wall, but they have been so much altered of recent years that it cannot be said whether they are of late pre-Conquest or Norman design, most probably the former. The rubble walling, with a good deal of pudding-stone, much resembles that of Bedfont. On the south side the old doorway has been built up, and a square-headed window inserted in part of the space. To the east of this is a good two-light early fourteenth century window, with a quatrefoil in the tracery. An early incised sundial may be noticed on one of the quoin stones of the south-east angle of the nave. The chancel, which is somewhat narrower than the nave, is obviously of Early English thirteenth century date, as shown by the priests' door, buttresses, etc. The east window is of three equal-height lancets, that in the centre being the widest; the inner splaying has been altered, apparently in the seventeenth century. The

east end is supported by two large brick buttresses, having moulded brick set-offs. The gable has been much repaired at the top, and projecting timber-work has been carried round under the chancel eaves. All this seems to be work of *c.* 1660, and is good and interesting of its kind.

The interior of the church, much restored in 1897, is remarkable for having two tiers of galleries at the west end, which help to support the substantial timbers that carry the wooden belfry and short spire. The date of this work is shown by a tablet against the north wall, which bears the following inscription:—

> We the Rector and Churchwardens of Cowley, in Vestry assembled, have unanimously agreed to order this Tablet to be placed here in grateful Remembrance of the Beneficence and Generosity of Mr. Thomas Dagnall, of this Parish, who in the year 1780 erected a new Steeple to this Church, built a new Porch to it, and repair'd and beautified the inside of the said Church and Chancel at his own sole Expense.
>
> RICHARD DODD, Rector.
> WILLIAM STEVENS, } Churchwardens.
> EDMOND BROWN, }

There is no chancel arch. The considerable remains of the old rood-screen, and the remarkable and exceptional timber arching over the tie-beam above where it stood, are dealt with in Mr. Vallance's article in another part of this volume. The font is new, but in the churchyard, immediately below the east window, stands the mutilated circular bowl, thirty inches in diameter, of a thirteenth century font, now filled with flowers. At the west end of the nave is a modern brick addition, which includes a south porch entrance. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of September, 1800, is a poor sketch of this church from the south-east.

This well-kept churchyard is not infrequently visited by those of unhealthy curiosity, because it contains the remains of that notorious and unhappy clerical forger, the Rev. Dr. William Dodd, who was hung on June 27th, 1777. He was doubtless buried here, owing to the fact

that his brother, Richard Dodd, was at that time, and for many subsequent years, Rector of Cowley. His grave is close to the church at the north-west angle, but is in no way marked.

CRANFORD church (St. Dunstan), a small building consisting of chancel, nave, and western tower, stands in Lord Fitzhardinge's park, and close to the hall. The body of the church was burnt down in 1710, and rebuilt of brick in 1714-15. The chancel was much damaged and mainly rebuilt; there is a square-headed late fifteenth century window on the south side. The tower is fifteenth century, with south-east newel turret; an extra stage of brick was added when the nave was built. The good archway into the nave was opened out in 1895, and a vestry added to the north side of the tower. Much has been recently spent on the decoration and painting of the interior of the church, particularly of the chancel. The chancel is crowded with great monuments. The largest and most sumptuous, on the north side, is the monument to Sir Roger Aston, his two wives, four daughters, and an infant son, with kneeling life-size effigies of the six adults. Sir Roger, who was groom of the bedchamber to James I., died in 1612. There is a good plate of this vast monument in Lysons' *Middlesex*, 1808. A more noteworthy but simpler monument is that of Thomas Fuller, the historian, rector of this parish, who died in 1661. Fastened to a hinge is a palimpsest brass inscribed to Nicholas, brother of Mardochius Bownell, parson of this church; on the reverse are parts of a fifteenth century four-lined Latin inscription.

EDGWARE church (St. Margaret) was rebuilt of brick, with the exception of the western tower, after a cruciform plan, in 1764. The wooden casements of the windows gave way to stone, and other improvements were effected in 1845. Further general repairs and the filling up of vaults were carried out in 1908. The fifteenth century embattled tower of three stages has a north-east newel

turret and diagonal west buttresses of four set-offs. The west doorway has a squared hood-mould, with spandrels; the window over it has lost its tracery. The rubble walling of the tower includes various squared stones from older parts of the original church. In the chancel is the small brass of a chrisom child, Anthony, infant son of John Childe, goldsmith, who died when three weeks old in 1599.

EDMONTON parish church (All Saints) consists of chancel with north chapel, nave of four bays, north and south aisles, and western tower. Sperling, writing in 1849, describes it as "a mediæval church within an unpromising shell." The nave and chancel, now thickly draped in ivy, were cased in brick in 1772. The inner church, as it now stands, appears to belong to the time of Richard II. or Henry IV., *c.* 1400, to which date the five-light east window, with fairly good tracery, undoubtedly pertains. The remarkable brick casing of 1772 is said to be due to the jobbery of the two churchwardens, one of whom was a bricklayer and the other a carpenter. They inserted a false roof and substituted wooden mullions for the stone tracery of the nave windows. The casing of the old stone tower with brick was about to be undertaken, but this action was checked by the intervention of the diocesan. The south aisle was added in 1889, when a variety of stones of Norman workmanship were found embedded in the outer south wall. These traces of the old Norman church, given by Geoffrey de Mandeville to Walden Abbey in 1136, are now carefully built into the wall at the west end of the new aisle. Some of the south aisle windows are old, having been replaced here from the south wall of the nave. There are various small memorial brasses, but none of particular interest. The oldest (1506) is to John Asplyn and Godfrey Askew, and to Elizabeth, who was successively wife of both. The figure of Elizabeth is placed between her two husbands. There

are also brasses to Nicholas Boone and Elizabeth, his wife, 1530. In the south wall is a tomb from which the brass effigies have been taken, but the arms prove it to belong to the Kirton family.

The embattled fifteenth century tower, with south-east newel staircase, has the squared-headed bell-chamber windows so usual in Middlesex towers of this period. There are pairs of buttresses at the western angles.

In the church are medallion tablets to Cowper and Lamb, put up by the London and Middlesex Archæological Society in 1888. The Cowper medallion is in recognition of the title to fame given by the poet to Edmonton in "John Gilpin." Charles Lamb, who died in 1834, lies buried in the south-west part of this churchyard. His afflicted sister, Mary, who died in 1847, lies by his side. The well-known inscription on his tombstone was written by Cary.

ENFIELD church (St. Andrew) possesses an exceptionally unattractive exterior. The clerestoried nave, aisles, chancel, and tower are embattled throughout, but the whole is covered with a poor style of stucco or plaster, which was applied to it in 1810. When Sperling wrote, in 1849, he expressed himself as surprised to find "a good Middle-Pointed choir and nave under this unpromising veil. . . . The east window is Middle-Pointed of three-lights ogee trefoiled, with a foliated niche in the head. . . . All the other windows in the church are late specimens of the Third-Pointed age, and destitute of tracery." By Middle-Pointed is intended what is more usually styled Decorated, or work of the days of the three first Edwards. There are five arcades on each side separating the aisles from the nave, having four-clustered piers. If these, as supposed by Sperling, are of fourteenth century date, they are very late in that style, and cannot be earlier than Richard II. There are similar arcades of two bays between the chancel and its north chapel. At the east end of the north aisle is

an octagonal turret for the rood-loft stairs. There are galleries round three sides of the nave; none of the old rood-screen tracery, which was in front of the west gallery in Sperling's days, now remains. The cumbersome old west gallery was removed in 1853. On the south side of the chancel are three sedilia of equal level divided by thirteenth century shafts. They were discovered, together with a piscina, in 1852, when they underwent considerable restoration. Here, too, is a blocked-up hagioscope or squint. This wall is probably the oldest part of the present church. The tower, however, which is unbuttressed, is perhaps of similar age in its lower stages—that is, of the time of Henry III. The font is modern.

Above the nave arcades may be noticed the devices or badges of a sprigged rose and a wing. Lysons, in his *Environs of London* (1795), suggested that this was probably the passing cognizance of one of the priors of Walden, to whom this church was appropriated, a suggestion which has since been often asserted as a fact. Dr. Robinson, in his long *History of Enfield* (1823), was not ashamed to set forth the name of the prior as Rosewing. There was, however, no such prior, and it has now been established that these were the devices used by Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G., treasurer of the royal household. On the death of Edmund, Lord Roos, in 1508, the manor of Worcesters in this parish came to Sir Thomas Lovell by marriage with Isabel, Lord Roos's sister and heir. He died at his house at Enfield in 1524. These devices give the date of the nave clerestory (not of the arcades) as due to Sir Thomas' benefaction in the reign of Henry VIII. The like devices are on the tower of Hadley, with the date 1494.

There are a variety of interesting and valuable monuments. The finest and most ancient is to Joyce, Lady Tiptoft, 1446, on the north side of the quire. Beneath a handsome four-centred and panelled canopy (apparently of later date) is a Purbeck marble slab,

bearing a beautifully designed large brass effigy of the lady under a triple canopy; she wears an heraldic mantle and coronet. This brass has been several times engraved, notably by Gough and Boutell. There is also a brass, with effigies, to William Smith and Joan, his wife, 1592. In the north chancel chapel is a monument to Sir Nicholas Raynton, 1646, his wife and children, with their effigies, that of Sir Nicholas being in his robes as Lord Mayor of London. Another monument that must not escape mention, as it is the work of the eminent sculptor, Nicholas Stone, is the oval mural monument of white marble "To the revivinge memory off virtuous Mrs. Martha Palmere," 1617.

The church underwent considerable restoration in 1866, when it was re-roofed.

FINCHLEY parish church (St. Mary) consists of chancel, clerestoried nave, aisles, and western tower. The fabric has been so frequently altered, enlarged, and "restored" during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that there is not very much of the old work remaining. Almost all that is left appears to be of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date. The last restoration was in 1872-3, when a north aisle was added and the chancel extended eighteen feet. There is a south-east plate of this church in Lysons' *Environs* (1795). There are slight traces of the Norman masonry of an earlier church at the west end. The low embattled tower has a south-east projecting newel stairway up to the bell-chamber; it is too much overwhelmed in ivy. There are several small brass effigies and inscriptions—Richard Pratt and wife, 1487; William Godolphin, 1575; Simon Skudemore and wife, 1609; Thomas White and three wives, 1610, etc. A mural brass plate gives an extract from the will of Thomas Sanny, 1509, leaving an income of 40s. for masses, etc., and "that thys be gravyn in a stone of m'bull that all men may know hit."

The upper rood-loft door on the north side of the

chancel arch was brought to light in 1872; no traces of the stairs remain.

FRIERN BARNET church (St. James) was so extensively restored and enlarged in 1853 that the old fabric is almost entirely gone. Lysons, in his *Environs* (1795), describes it as "of very small dimensions and of Norman architecture, except the chancel window, which is Gothic. . . . At the west end is a small wooden turret." Sperling, in 1849, said: "The fabric is probably Romanesque, but is now completely modernised; a marble vase is used for the font." The old south doorway, of Norman date, is incorporated in the present fabric; it has a good jamb-shaft enclosed in chevron mouldings; the tympanum has a diapered pattern, which has been recut. The monuments are of no particular age or interest.

The silver flagon of the altar plate, date 1655, was "the gift of Mrs. Mary Crossley, Anno Domini 1709," and is thus inscribed:—

> This pott's for holy wine, this wine pure blood,
> This blood true life, this life containes all good.
> Not potts, but soules, are fitt to hold such wine,
> Such blood, such life, such good, O Christ take mine.

GREENFORD church (Holy Cross) was so "thoroughly restored" in 1882 that it is difficult to believe, from the exterior, that it is an old parish church. It consists of chancel, nave, south porch, and western tower, with short spire. The chancel arch, of the time of Henry III., was for long in a dangerous state; the jambs had been cut away in 1656, when a great beam, bearing "This Doe and Live," was put across below the impost, and the boards filling up the tympanum of the arch painted with the Ten Commandments. All this was taken down in 1872 and a new arch built. The south porch of timber retains some of its old work, *c.* 1500. In the nave is the curious monument of Bridget, wife of Simon Coston, 1637, shown in effigy with her husband and five

children. The remarkable font (fig. 2), so well illustrated by Mr. Tavenor-Perry, was presented by Francis Coston in 1638. In the chancel windows are a variety of interesting fragments of old painted glass, collected and placed here by Edward Betham, rector of Greenford, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The spiral altar rails are of the time of Charles II. The brasses include a half-effigy of Simon Hert, rector, 1452; a lady with butterfly head-dress, *c.* 1475; Thomas Symons, rector, 1518; and Richard Thornton and Alys, his wife (figure gone), 1544.

FIG. 2.—FONT OF HOLY CROSS, GREENFORD MAGNA.

There is a good paper on this church by Mr. Eales in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, vol. iv. (1871).

Late in the fifteenth century the church had a timber tower and short broached spire added at the west end. The lower stage has projecting lean-to extensions on the north and south sides. The whole is covered with weather-boarding, excepting the projections, which had their roofs tiled at the last restoration.

HACKNEY, the north-eastern suburb of the metropolis, possessed a church of some celebrity, with an imposing

array of monuments, dedicated to St. Augustine. A fifteenth century tower is the only vestige of the ancient fabric. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the old fabric was much out of repair, and it was decided to erect a new church a little distance to the north-east. The new church (dedicated to St. John) was begun in May, 1792, and consecrated on July 15th, 1797; it actually cost £28,000. As soon as it was finished the old church was pulled down. There is a detailed description of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796 (pt. i., pp. 773-4). The old embattled tower is a good plain example of the Third-Pointed style. It serves as a clock tower for the town, and has a newel stairway in the south-east angle. The bell-chamber windows are of three lights. The small eastern archway, built up save for a modern entrance, is four centred. To the right-hand of this entrance a large ledger stone, with armorial bearings, commemorates Thomas Trench, 1699. Within the tower is a chest-tomb, with a ledger stone as its cover, to the memory of Captain Robert Deane, 1697. In the adjoining churchyard are a great number of fairly early tombstones, including some showing the matrices of brasses, which must have originally been within the church of St. Augustine. The church of St. John is described by Mr. Sperling (in 1849) as "a vast room without a single pillar; for ugliness, probably without an equal in the United Kingdom." It is scarcely possible to gainsay this opinion. It is more like a great music hall than a place of worship, but it possesses the merit of seating two thousand, and is in excellent order. It is also well worth a visit on account of the considerable number of interesting monuments which were removed from St. Augustine's and stored up against the walls of the two vestibules of St. John's. The oldest are to be found in the large north vestibule. The most memorable is that of Christopher Urswick, Dean of Windsor, who was appointed rector of Hackney in 1502.

He died in 1521, and directed, by his will, that he should be buried "in the chancel of my church of Hackney afore the image of Saint Austyn." The proper place for the image of the patron saint was to the north of the high altar, and here Dean Urswick's handsome tomb was erected. It is in good condition, and must have been most carefully removed. It consists of a recessed canopied tomb, with well carved quatrefoils on the front, and a brass, representing the dean in a cope, on the slab. It most probably served for an Easter Sepulchre tomb, like that which was avowedly set up for that purpose at the Middlesex church of Stanwell in 1486. Near by is a mural brass, with a quaint epitaph, commemorating Arthur Dericote, 1562, with small effigies of himself and his four wives:

> Wives four by marriage he had,
> That lawful was and right,
> Mary, Anne, and Margaret,
> And Jone the fourth she hight.

A third distinguished and beautifully sculptured monument claims brief notice. It is the tomb of Lucy, daughter of Henry, Earl of Worcester, and wife of John, Lord Latimer, who died in 1577. The effigy on the table-tomb is a most elaborate piece of sculpture, and there is a fine heraldic display of the arms of the various noble families with which Lady Latimer was connected. A good account of these and the more recent monuments of Hackney church was issued for private circulation by Mr. R. Simpson in 1884.

HADLEY (or Monken Hadley), placed for administrative purposes in Hertfordshire in 1904, must still be considered ecclesiastically in Middlesex. The church (St. Mary) was so thoroughly restored (save the tower) in 1848-50 by Mr. Street, R.A., that you may walk all round the exterior without noting any old stone work except in parts of the east window of the south. It is on a cruciform plan, with western tower; the aisles were

widened during the restoration. Much of the nave arcades and the arches into transepts retain their original fifteenth century work. The well-built embattled tower, of flint, rubble, and pudding-stone, with freestone quoins, shows here and there among the chequer arranged stones certain pieces that have obviously been used up out of an older fabric. Over the west doorway is a panel bearing "Anno dni 1494," flanked by the devices of a slipped rose and wing. These devices have been already explained under Enfield church as pertaining to Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G., who died in 1524; he had property in this district, and was probably the chief benefactor in the rebuilding of this church towards the close of the fifteenth century. There is a fine embattled newel turret at the south-west angle of the tower, whose stability is sorely jeopardised by a great mass of clinging ivy springing from an abnormally large coarse trunk. An iron cresset or beacon on projecting rods that crowns this turret is a distinguishing and ancient landmark. This high ground was known, at least as early as the reign of Elizabeth, as Beacon's Hill. The cresset was blown down, but replaced and repaired in 1779. The conjecture that it was occasionally used in former days as a guide to those crossing the neighbouring forest tracts of Enfield seems probable, and it is known that it was fired as an alarm during the Stuart rising of 1745. During recent years it has been fired on the occasion of the marriage and coronation of Edward VII., on the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and on the jubilees of Queen Victoria. The tower rises, as it were, within the western bay of the nave, there being archways beneath it into the aisles, as well as an exceptionally fine one into the nave.

The late fifteenth century font is of a usual form; the panels of the bowl are covered with quatrefoils. Large squints give a view of the high altar from each of the transepts; these were opened out at the time of

the restoration. The north transept had an altar to St. Anne, and the south to St. Katharine; in each transept there is a trefoil-headed piscina niche, and there is a third in the south wall of the chancel.

There are various brasses in the church, most of which came to light during the restoration—inscriptions to Philip Grene and Margaret, his sister, and Margaret Somercotes, who all died in 1442; inscriptions, with effigies, to Walter Tornor and Agnes, his wife, 1494; and, below, inscriptions to William Tornor and Joan, his wife, 1500; effigies and inscriptions to John Goodeyere and Joan, his wife, 1504; a civilian and wife, *c.* 1520, inscription lost; effigies and inscriptions to William Gale, citizen and barber chyrurgion, of London, and wife, Elizabeth, and children, 1610; and of William Gale and Anne, his wife, with two sons, 1614.

The only other monument that there is space to name is the one to Sir Roger Wilbraham, 1616, and his wife, with admirable busts by Nicholas Stone. This memorial used to be in the chancel, but was moved at the restoration to the west end of the south aisle.

The earliest register book begins in 1619. It was given by Thomas Emerson, lord of the manor. On the first page are recorded the many benefactions of Emerson to the church in the same year, including the beautifying of the whole of the interior, and repewing and ceiling in wainscot; building a screen between nave and chancel; presenting Holy Table with green silk cover and damask cloth and napkin; pulpit with green velvet cushion, font cover, clock and clock-house, three pieces of silver-gilt plate, and "a faire trunck to put these ornaments into." All these benefactions have disappeared, save the three pieces of altar plate, flagon, chalice with cover, and paten.

The plate of this church is exceptionally interesting and valuable. In addition to the three Emerson pieces, the flagon of which, date-mark 1609, is most graceful

and pronounced to be unique, there is an Elizabethan parcel-gilt chalice and paten-cover, 1562; a secular silver-gilt cup, with triangular pinnacled cover, 1610; a fine silver-gilt standing cup and cover of 1586, presented to the church about 1735; and two silver alms-plates of the respective dates of 1723 and 1847. These are all described and illustrated by Mr. Freshfield in his *Middlesex Church Plate* (1897).

The late rector of this parish, Rev. F. C. Cass, wrote an excellent work on Monken Hadley (1880), wherein the genealogy of all commemorated on the monuments is closely followed up.

HANWORTH church (St. George) was so much enlarged and expanded in 1865 that it is usually described as an entirely new fabric. This, however, is not the case. An old sketch, dated 1849, which hangs in the vestry, shows that the church consisted of a nave of four bays, divided by gabled buttresses and lighted by two-light traceried pointed windows, with an elaborate pinnacled bell-turret at the west. The whole was obviously of Edward III. date. There was a small projecting quasi-chancel of much later date at the east end. The costly and pretentious alterations of 1865, quite out of keeping with the surroundings of this country church, included a lofty tower and spire, tacked on to the building at the north-east, a large apsidal chancel, and another projecting apse on the north. The actual substantial fourteenth century stone walling of the nave was, however, suffered to remain, with much of the buttresses, though the windows were entirely renewed. A clean sweep was made of all the old fittings, including the font, saving two coats of heraldic glass now in the vestry window.

HAREFIELD church (St. Mary) was so completely "refitted, enlarged, and beautified" by the late Rt. Hon. Charles Newdegate, at a cost of upwards of £3,000, about the year 1840, that there is hardly anything left

of interest, except costly and numerous family monuments. It consists of chancel, nave, aisles, and north porch, with massive low embattled tower at the west end of the north aisle. All the windows are new, and the building is encased in stucco. The arcade on the south side of the nave is fourteenth century (*c.* 1360), with good eight-clustered piers and graceful capitals; the bases were spoilt at the restoration. The northern arcade has been rebuilt, and there is a gallery with an organ over the north aisle. The east end of this aisle, the Breakspear chantry, is raised and screened off by a parclose, *c.* 1500. Some rich oak carving of late Renaissance style, the spoils of a religious house in Belgium, has been worked up into a reredos and rails for the altar in the chancel. At the east end of the south aisle is a good fourteenth century piscina niche, in the trefoiled ogee head. The font is modern; the north doorway and porch new.

The following are the most noteworthy of the numerous memorials: brasses, with effigies, to Editha, wife of William Newdegate, 1444; to George Assheby, Clerk of the Signet to Henry VIII., 1514, and wife, Rose, with four sons and three daughters; to William Assheby and wife, Jane, 1537, with one son and seven daughters; to John Newdegate, serjeant-at-law, and wife, Amphilisia, 1544, with nine sons and four daughters; to John Newdegate, 1545, and wife, Anne, with seven sons and five daughters; and inscription only to George Assheby and wife, Margaret, 1474.

On the south side of the chancel is the very costly and effective monument, beautifully restored in colour, of Alice Spencer, wife of the fifth Earl of Derby, who died in 1637. Her own recumbent effigy is exquisitely carved, and below are the touching effigies of her three daughters. The whole monument is richly emblazoned with heraldry. There is an engraving of this tomb in Lysons' *Middlesex* (1800). There are various later monuments, chiefly of the Newdegate family. The only

other one there is space to mention is one designed and executed by Gibbons in memory of Sir Richard Newdegate, Bart., 1710, and of his wife, Mary, who died in 1692. The half-reclining figure of the lady is of much beauty and grace. Lysons also gives a plate of this monument.

Against the outer north wall of the church should be noticed the presentment of a gamekeeper with gun and dog, well carved in low-relief, placed there by Mr. Ashby in memory of his faithful servant, Robert Mossenden, who died in 1744. Below are the following ingenious lines, which are of interest as instancing the comparatively early use of shooting flying game:—

> In frost and snow, thro' hail and rain,
> He scour'd the woods, and trudg'd the plain;
> The steady pointer leads the way,
> Stands at the scent, then springs the prey;
> The timorous birds from stubble rise,
> With pinions stretched divide the skies;
> The scattered lead pursues the sight,
> And death in thunder stops their flight;
> His spaniel of true English kind,
> With gratitude inflames his mind;
> This servant in an honest way,
> In all his actions, copied Tray.

HARLINGTON church (Sts. Peter and Paul) consists of chancel, nave, north aisle, south porch, and western tower. The fabric was very "completely restored" in 1880, at the large cost for a village church of £4,000, when the north aisle was added. The nave was originally Norman. In the south wall is a large round-headed light somewhat late in the style, and another one was moved from the old north wall to a like position in the aisle. The well-carved timber porch (*c.* 1500) covers an elaborate example of a late Norman doorway, having double jamb-shafts with grotesquely sculptured capitals; chevron, medallion, beak-head, and embattled mouldings appear in the four orders of the arch-head. An old thirteenth century

HARLINGTON CHURCH.

plain-pointed doorway has been moved to the new aisle. The steep-pitched chancel, somewhat higher than the nave, is clearly (notwithstanding late restoration, which

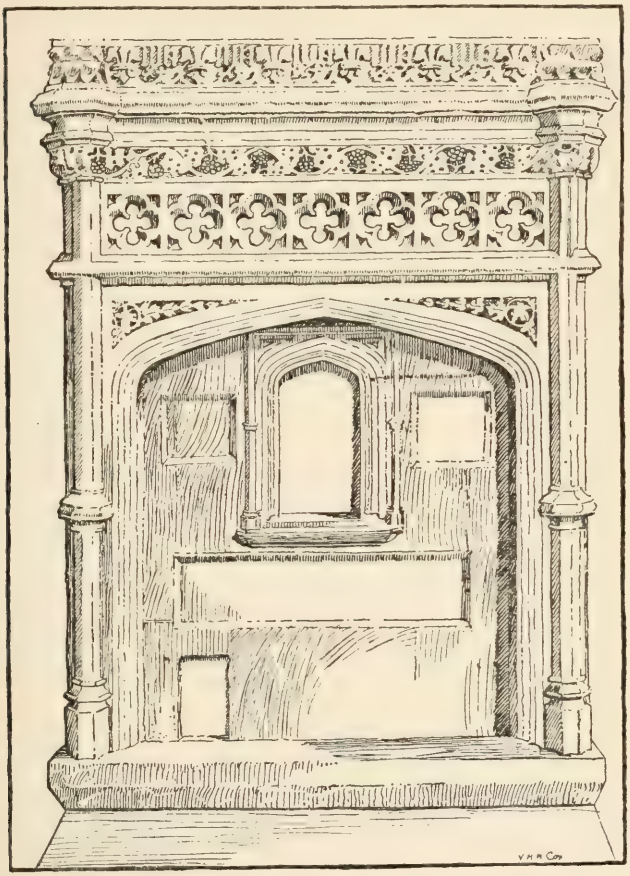


FIG. 3.—HARLINGTON, STS. PETER AND PAUL: EASTER SEPULCHRE.

has given it an imitation fifteenth century east window) of late Decorated date, *c.* 1360. Two windows on the south of the chancel, and one on the north, retain flowing

tracery. The embattled three-staged fifteenth century tower, with north-east newel turret, is crowned by a later cupola. The font is a good specimen of transition Norman; the square bowl, rudely arcaded, stands on a circular shaft, with four smaller shafts at the angles. When Sperling was here in 1849 he noted that "the western half of the nave retains its old open seats, with buttressed standards in excellent preservation." Near the pulpit, against the south wall of the nave, is an oak bracket, well carved with foliage, apparently late in the fourteenth century. In the north wall of the chancel is an enriched but somewhat damaged fifteenth century recessed arch, raised on a pedestal or base, which undoubtedly served as an Easter Sepulchre (fig. 3). The accompanying illustration renders further description of this most noteworthy sculptured piece of church furniture unnecessary.

Against the south chancel wall is a brass, with effigies, of Gregory Lovell, lord of the manor and patron of the church, 1545, and of Anne, his wife, and two children (one lost). The inscriptions and shields of arms are palimpsest, one portion being an inscription to George Baylee, 1513. There is also a half-length brass to John Monemouthe, rector, 1419. The chancel contains some striking modern monuments, with effigies, to the De Salis family of Dawley Court.

In the churchyard, near the south porch, is a noble old yew-tree, having a girth of about twenty feet. It used formerly to be clipped at intervals into unnatural shapes, but this practice has been happily abandoned since 1825.

HARMONDSWORTH church (St. Mary) is a somewhat remarkable fabric, with several points of interest. It consists of chancel with north aisle, nave of four bays with aisles, south porch, and tower to the west of the south aisle. It has recently been said that there is pre-Conquest work in the church, but of this we could

find no trace. The south doorway is of elaborate late Norman work, somewhat inferior to that of Harlington, but enriched with chevron, embattled, beak-head, and star mouldings. The story of the development of this church is difficult to follow, but it appears probable that the south aisle is on the site of the original small fabric. The piers of the arcade on the south side of the nave are circular, with the usual Norman capitals, but with plain-pointed later arches The north arcade is later, of early thirteenth century date. There is a plain lancet in the north wall, and two somewhat later trefoiled lancets in the north wall of the chancel chapel. The large chancel, with its north chapel or aisle, is of early fifteenth century style. Between the chancel and its aisle is an arcade of three arches, with octagonal piers. The piscina and three even sedilia in the south wall of the chancel have a series of plain cinquefoiled arches, and are under a square hood-mould. From the exterior it is plain that the north chapel was raised and considerably altered early in the Perpendicular period. This is supposed to have been the work of William of Wykeham, to whom both the manor and advowson were assigned in 1391, and who made them part of the endowment of his college at Winchester. The embattled fifteenth century tower, with a newel turret surmounted by a cupola at the north-west angle, has been much repaired in brick. Beneath it stands a good Purbeck marble font of early thirteenth century date; the octagonal bowl is supported on a central and eight smaller shafts. There is much good pre-Reformation seating remaining, with buttressed standards, of early sixteenth century date.

The church was considerably restored in 1863, when several brasses were lost or stolen. A peculiarly awkward parish room was added to the north aisle in 1900. There have been recent remarkable alterations in the chancel, including an extraordinary inclined way up to the pulpit

in place of steps; it is very strange that a faculty could be obtained for such mischievous work.

There is a good south view of this church in Lysons' *Middlesex* (1800). A confused and unsatisfactory paper as to Harmondsworth church appeared in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society* for 1905.

HAYES parish church (St. Mary) underwent a severe restoration at the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott in 1873. Fortunately, we have not only Sperling's notes of 1849 to tell us of the old fabric, but Mr. Thomas Mills printed an able monograph, illustrated with twelve plates, on the eve of the restoration. The ground plan of the church, which was not then altered save for the addition of a vestry, consists of chancel, clerestoried nave of four bays with aisles, south porch, and western tower. The oldest part of the church as it now stands is the large chancel, which is chiefly of early thirteenth century or Early English style. But a careful examination of the tower shows that a considerable variety of moulded or squared stones of Norman date are included in its composition, notably one on the north side with a carved surface. The font, too, with circular well-carved bowl on central and eight small shafts, is of late or transitional Norman date, towards the close of the twelfth century. The chancel had originally three lancets on each side, of which three now remain. There is some curious arcade work at the west end of the chancel on the north side, apparently designed to carry the old roof when the construction of the nave was altered. In the south chancel wall are three sedilia of equal level, the central one being the widest. East of the sedilia is a simple trefoiled piscina niche. There is an almery in the east wall. The nave is fifteenth century, with octagonal piers supporting the arcades. The nave roof appears to be original, and there are considerable traces of colouring in the panels. A considerable amount of old pre-

Arch of South Door, Harmondsworth Church.

Reformation pewing remains, with buttressed standards. The south porch, of timber, is of late fifteenth century design. This, too, is the approximate date of the upper part of the tower, which is eighty feet high to the top of the weather vane. It is destitute of buttresses, and the actual fabric of the base may be of considerable age. Prior to the restoration the rood-screen and portions of at least one parclose-screen had been removed and fitted together to form a western screen at the entrance to the tower. These are elsewhere described. A mural painting of St. Christopher was uncovered on the north wall in 1873. A large painting of the Adoration of the Shepherds, given to the church in 1726, has been removed from over the altar to the east end of the south aisle. An early muniment chest, figured in Hill's book, has disappeared.

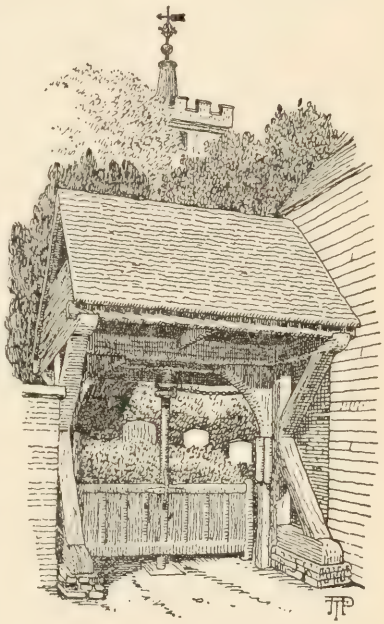


FIG. 4.—HAYES, ST. MARY: LYCH GATE.

In the chancel is the tomb and effigy of Sir E. Fenner, 1611, judge of King's Bench. In the north aisle is a Purbeck marble slab, with brass effigy, of Walter Grene, 1423, and in the south aisle is a raised tomb, with brasses, to Thomas Higate, 1576, his wife, and nine children.

This churchyard shares with Heston in having an old timber lych gate (fig. 4).

HENDON church (St. Mary), though now of poor, late, and debased construction, possesses one early treasure in its fine, large Norman font; it has a bowl 20 in. deep and 2 ft. 11 in. square, with intersecting arcades on the sides. This font was coarsely engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1787; it was also fully described and illustrated in *Middlesex and Herts Notes and Queries* (iv., 154-8). The church consists of chancel with north and south chapels, clerestoried nave with aisles, south porch, and western tower. The whole plan and all the details have been much debased during the last three centuries, and it is still obstructed on all sides with heavy galleries. The nave arcades are partly of fourteenth century date. The clerestory dates about 1530. The chancel was partly rebuilt in 1827, when the north chapel was raised and a new south chapel erected. The battlemented tower lacks buttresses, and is mainly of fifteenth century date. It is possible that parts of the lower stage are far earlier, even of pre-Conquest times. It is now (1908) scaffolded for repairs. There are a variety of comparatively modern monuments of little interest; the oldest is the semi-recumbent effigy of Sir William Rawlinson, 1703.

HESTON church (St. Leonard) was most disastrously and inexcusably destroyed in 1864-5, with the exception of the tower. The strongest protests were made by letters in *The Times*, and by resolutions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society and other kindred bodies, but all in vain. One of the finest and most interesting churches in the county fell a victim to that fidgetty vandalism which demands smartness and geometrical precision in buildings for divine worship. The accounts given by Mr. Sperling in 1849, and by Mr. Heales in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society* for 1861, of this church, make us deeply regret its demolition, for it undoubtedly contained admirable work of the thirteenth, fourteenth,

and fifteenth centuries. The ground-plan was chancel with two aisles or chapel, nave with two aisles, western tower, and north and south and west porches, the first of brick and the two latter of timber, of the respective

FIG. 5.—HESTON, ST. LEONARD: WEST TOWER.

approximate dates of 1370 and 1500. The internal dimensions were 96 ft. in length, 41 ft. 6 in. in width (nave and aisles), and 45 ft. 6 in. in width (chancel and chapels).

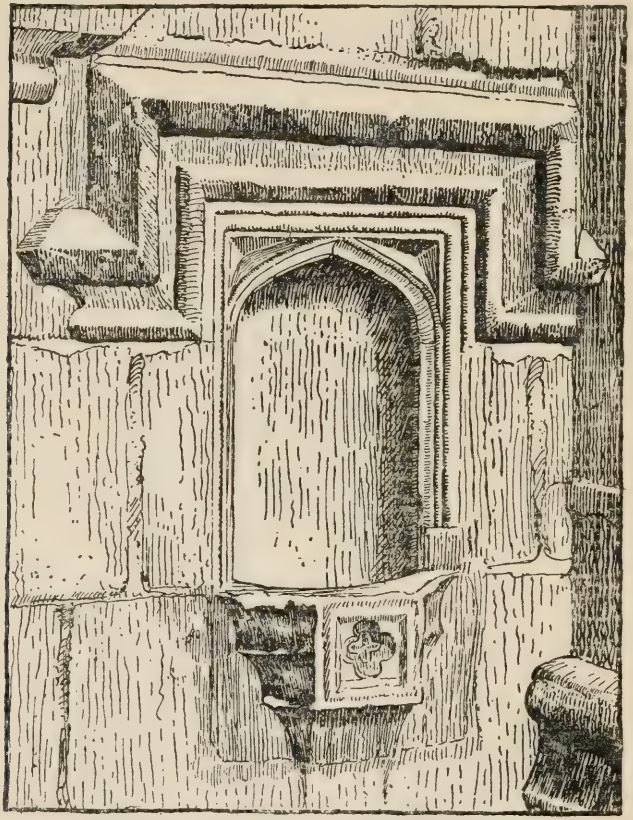


FIG. 6.—HESTON, ST. LEONARD: STOUP.

The fifteenth century tower (fig. 5), with its bold newel turret in the south-east angle, happily still remains; it is about the best of the Middlesex towers. Mr. Tavenor-Perry's sketch renders any further description unnecessary. An illustration is also given (fig. 6) of the holy-water

stoup to the right of the tower entrance; it is highly exceptional to find one in such good preservation. The old octagonal font was turned out in 1865-6 to make way for an inferior successor, and the remarkable and beautiful font cover was served in like manner. Fortunately, Mr. Fenton, of 11, New Oxford Street, recently rescued this cover, apparently of the time of Richard II., and had it repaired and given back to the church. It was illustrated in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist* of October, 1908.

On the chancel floor is a remarkable small brass of a lady lying in a four-post bedstead, the curtains folded back, with a chrisom child on the bed. Our Lord appears in glory above and kneeling angels on each side. It is supposed to represent Constance, wife of Mardochius Bownell, vicar, 1581.

HILLINGDON church (St. John Baptist) underwent considerable and drastic "restoration" at the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott in 1847-8, at a cost of £4,000, when a new chancel, with north aisle or chapel, and transepts were erected, and the nave and aisles lengthened eastward. In 1902 dormer windows were placed in the roofs of nave and chancel, and in 1907 much of the stonework of the tower was renewed. Parts of the nave arcades, with octagonal piers, are original. The new font is a reproduction of well-known East Anglian examples, with angels and lions alternating on the octagonal panels. The fifteenth century tower, crowned with a late cupola, stands up boldly. Guide books state that it was originally built in 1629; but this date on the west front only implies repair and renewal of western doorway. Most of the fabric of it is undoubtedly at least a century older.

There are some interesting brasses—John Lord Le Strange and his lady, under a double canopy, 1477, illustrated by Gough; Henry Stanley, 1528, illustrated by Haines; Drew Saunders and wife, 1579; and John Atlee, 1593.

HORNSEY old parish church (St. Mary) was rebuilt in a cheap style in white brick in 1832, with the exception of the tower. The use of this church, save on rare occasions, has been discarded in favour of a large, handsome church, which lies immediately to the east of the old one. It was designed by Mr. James Brooks in 1888, and still lacks its tower. At the west end is a large incised slab (removed from the old church) which bears the life-size effigy, in furred gown and ruff, of George Rey, of Highgate, gentleman, between his two wives.

Against the wall of the south aisle of the new church is a medallion of Samuel Rogers, author of *The Pleasures of Memory*, 1763-1855; he was buried in this churchyard.

The western embattled tower of the old church is a fine late fifteenth century example; it is well built of rubble, with quoins of white freestone, which stand out clearly in the half-octagon newel turret of the north-west angle. The bell-chamber windows were formerly square, but were turned into elaborate pointed traceried windows, quite unsuited to an old Middlesex tower, about 1870, when attempts were made to improve the 1832 church. Many of the stones of this tower, especially in the highest of the three stages, had certainly been dressed for an older building. This tower was for a long time literally smothered in ivy, especially on the west. Since this has been removed, various interesting features have come to light, particularly two angel-borne shields, partly defaced, above the west window. The arms on these shields were discussed by Lysons in his *Environs of London* in 1795, and again in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1810; when a further account of the church appeared in that magazine in 1832 the shields were hidden in ivy. The arms are those of the archdiocese of York, impaling a pale fusilly for Savage (Thomas Savage, Bishop of London 1496-1501, Archbishop of York 1501-7), and those of the diocese of London, impaling a fess between a goat's head

in chief and three escallops in base for Warham (Bishop of London 1502-3). We may take it, therefore, that this tower was finished building in 1502.

The admirable font of the old church, with octagonal quatrefoiled bowl, and a remarkably good base, each face of which is carved with a trefoiled niche, was unfortunately not removed to its successor, but has been given to the modern church of St. George's, Hornsey.

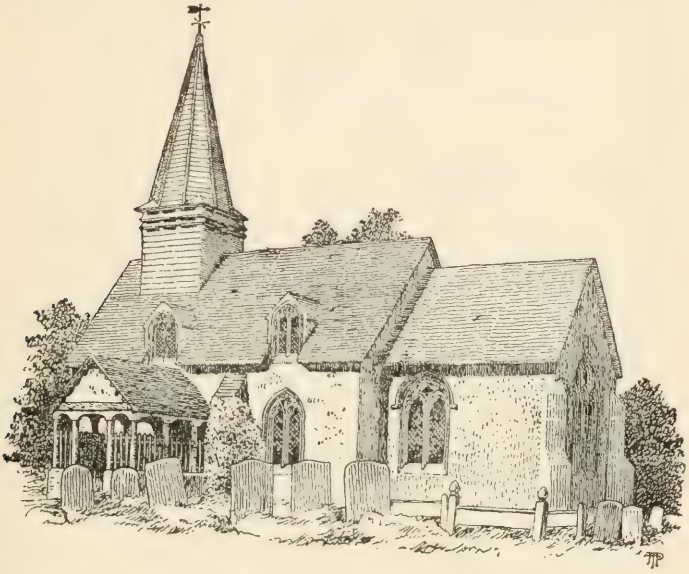


FIG. 7.—ICKENHAM, ST. GILES.

ICKENHAM church (St. Giles) (fig. 7) consists of chancel, nave, north aisle, south porch, and wooden belfry, and short spire over the western bay of the nave. The whole church has undergone considerable recent restoration and much renewal. The original date of the fabric seems to have been late fourteenth century, about the close of the reign of Edward III. The timbered porch, much restored, was erected *c.* 1500, and the belfry and small spire placed over the west bay of the nave

about the same time. The octagonal font is of fifteenth century date.

In the chancel is a small piscina niche with cinquefoil head, and another one in the south-east angle of the nave. There is a mutilated holy-water stoup by the south entrance. Against the south wall of the chancel are the brass effigies to William Say (1582), his wife, and their seven sons and nine daughters, "whilst he lyved Register to the Queenes majestie in causes ecclesiastical and justice of y^e^ courte of ye Arches at London." On the opposite side is the fine brass, with effigies, of Edward Shordiche (1584), his wife, and three children.

ISLEWORTH church (All Saints) is a painfully plain building of red brick, with the exception of the western tower. It is sometimes mistakenly described as the work of Sir Christopher Wren. The facts are, however, as follows. A plan for rebuilding was obtained from Sir Christopher in 1701, but it was considered too expensive, and was abandoned. In 1705 Sir Orlando Gee left a legacy of £500 towards the rebuilding scheme, and it was then decided to adopt a much modified form of Wren's plan. Subscriptions were invited, and the new building was begun on May 12th, 1705, and finished on February 8th, 1706. A chancel of white brick was added in 1865. On the south wall of the nave, facing the river, is a large wooden sundial, with the gnomon supported by gilded ironwork; it is profusely ornamented. At the top is a figure of Time with scythe and hour-glass, and the motto, "Watch and Pray." An inscription in the interior states that the church was repaired and beautified in 1829. Much decoration and painting has been done at a considerably later date.

The church contains, in addition to a variety of somewhat important eighteenth century monuments, a brass to William Chase (1544), serjeant to Henry VIII. (with palimpsest of a Flemish brass, *c.* 1350); and a small

brass figure of "Margaret Dely, a syster professed yn Syon, who decessed the 7 of October, anno 1561, on whose sowle sweet Jesus have mercy"; and several other later palimpsests.

The embattled pinnacled stone tower is a good example of work of about the middle of the fifteenth century. There is no turret, but a projecting newel stairway at the south-east angle conducts to the bell-chamber, which has the usual Middlesex square-headed windows. There are two western diagonal buttresses. The growth of ivy on this tower is excessive, and certain, if not speedily checked, to lead to disaster. The archway into the nave is well proportioned, and has shafts in the jambs.

KINGSBURY church (St. Andrew) merely consists of chancel and nave under a continuous roof, with a small wooden belfry and short lead-covered spire over the west gable. The angle quoins of both nave and chancel show "long and short" work. For this and other early traces now concealed beneath the plaster the church was reckoned to be of pre-Norman date by both Rickman and Parker when writing sixty years ago on church architecture; it is also included in Professor Baldwin Brown's recent list of Saxon churches. When much restored in 1870, it was found that Roman bricks and tiles had been freely used in its erection. At that time an old timber porch was unfortunately removed, and the western turret rebuilt. The built-up south door is a plain round-headed example; it may be early Norman or late Saxon. On the south side of the chancel is a thirteenth century priests' doorway; an early sundial is incised on one of the upper stones. To the west of this doorway is a small squared window, 21 in. by 7 in.; apparently an altered early light. The other windows are of renewed fifteenth century date. In the chancel is a mural monument to John Bul (1621), gentleman of the poultry to Queen Elizabeth and James I.; also a

brass to John Shepherd (1520) and his two wives, the first with ten and the second with eight children.

LALEHAM church (All Saints) consists of a chancel, nave of three bays, wide north aisle, continuing in north chancel chapel, south porch, and western tower. There is an arcade of three arches between nave and aisle, supported by two circular Norman piers and similar responds; there is a hood with billet moulding over the central arch. There are obvious traces of a lost south aisle, which had similar piers and arches, now built up. Against the south wall are several pieces of Norman moulding, set in a kind of pattern. The north aisle has been materially widened, probably in the fourteenth century. There is a pointed arch into the north chapel from the aisle, with a plain chamfer and no capitals. The wide arch into the chancel was altered at the same date. The north chapel is of brick, *c.* 1500, with square-headed three-light windows east and north; the moulded bricks of these windows have originally had a thin coat of white plaster. The present windows of the church are all of recent renewal or debased. The low, massive brick tower, enwrapt in ivy, at the west end of the north aisle, only dates from the time of George I.; the brick porch seems to be of the same date. Over the altar is a huge painting, some ten feet high, of Christ walking on the sea, painted by G. H. Harlow, and presented to the church in 1811. To light up this poor picture, a special skylight has been constructed in the chancel roof. In the churchyard, which has a pair of well-grown yew trees, is interred Matthew Arnold, poet and critic, 1888.

LITTLETON church (St. Mary Magdalen) consists of a large chancel, nave with aisles, south porch, and western tower. The chancel, which has been restored, has lancet lights of the days of Henry III., *c.* 1225. At the west end of each of the narrow lean-to aisles are small lancets, and the blocked-up north doorway is also of like date,

as well as the double arcade of acutely pointed arches each side of the nave. About 1500 a brick clerestory was added to this thirteenth century church, having two two-light windows, with moulded brick hoods, on each side. The western tower, of four stages, is also of brick, with a thin coat of stucco or plaster. The top stage, a later addition of the eighteenth century, is a curious roofless embattled structure, pierced on each side with a large quatrefoil. On the north side of the chancel are two brick structures, separately gabled, communicating with each other, designed as mausoleums for the Wood

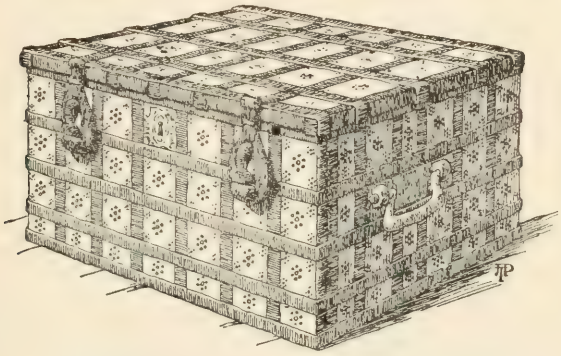


FIG. 8.—LITTLETON, ST. MARY MAGDALEN CHURCH : CHEST.

family. The one nearest the chancel, now used as a vestry, has an inscription, "*Deo et Memoriæ sacrum, MDCCVI.*" The thirteenth century chancel arch is strengthened internally by buttresses at the east end of each aisle. The large octagonal plain font, standing on a circular shaft and squared base, is an unusual form of thirteenth century work, but appears to be certainly coeval with the fabric. The bowl has a diameter of 31 in. and a depth of 13 in.; the total height is 37 in. It possesses a remarkable and handsome domed cover; eight crocketed ribs meet in the centre, and the intervals are filled up with series of diminishing pierced sexfoils,

cinquefoils, and quatrefoils, six in each. From the mouldings of the base, the cover appears to be *c.* 1400; it was probably executed by the same craftsman who designed that of Heston. It is, unfortunately, somewhat damaged. Another interesting relic is the exceptionally fine chest in the vestry (fig. 8), of oak, strongly banded with iron; the interstices are covered with leather, fixed with metal nails ornamentally arranged. There are two massive hasps for padlocks, and a fine key-plate in the centre. It measures 37 in. by 28 in., and has a height of 26 in. There is a great iron handle at each end. The seats in the nave are *c.* 1500, and have buttressed ends, like several other Middlesex examples.

In the chancel is a brass inscription, with shield of arms, to Blanche, wife of Sir Hugh Vaughan, 1553; the shield is palimpsest, exhibiting on the reverse part of a group of girls, *c.* 1500. A most noteworthy adornment of this church must not be passed by. The arcades and roofs are draped with no fewer than twenty-four old colours of the Grenadier Guards, placed there by their commandant, Colonel Thomas Wood, in 1855.

NORTHOLT church (St. Mary) (fig. 9), on an eminence overlooking the village, consists of chancel and nave, with a small wooden belfry and short spire over the west gable. There is no doorway in the west end, but a good two-light window, with a sexfoil in the head, of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. On the south side of the nave are two good windows of the like style and date, whilst between them is a small debased porch. The north side of the nave has two more similar windows and a built-up fourteenth century doorway. Sperling (1849) describes it as being *c.* 1390 in his days. The chancel has been rebuilt in brick, but retains the old windows. The wooden belfry over the west gable, crowned with a short octagonal spire covered with match-boarding, was put up *c.* 1500. Two great beams hold up the western tie-beam to support the belfry. The

west gallery was built in 1703. The fifteenth century octagonal font bowl rests on a block of rudely squared stone. One of the font panels (the remainder have arcaded work or quatrefoils) has an impaled armorial shield, which was doubtless the arms of the donor of the font, but which has hitherto eluded identification. The plain cover is of interest. It bears the date 1624, and the letters M. H., I. H., C. W.; these would be the initials of the two churchwardens. Among the old oak

FIG. 9.—NORTHOLT, ST. MARY.

panelling in another part of the church occurs this inscription, carved in low relief: "William Rowse and Mathew Hart, Churchwardens, 1629." This doubtless supplies the name of one of the wardens whose initials are on the font cover. On the south side of the nave is a square-headed piscina niche, with a stone credence shelf.

In the chancel are brasses to Henry Rowdell, 1452, with effigy in armour; to John Gyfforde, in armour, and wife, Susan, who died in childbed, 1560, leaving nine

sons and three daughters (several pieces palimpsest); and to Isaiah Bures, vicar, 1610.

NORWOOD was originally a chapelry of Hayes. It is mentioned as far back as 830, when the manor was given to the church of Canterbury. The chapel or church was rebuilt by Archbishop Chicheley in 1439; he attached to it four thousand acres out of the wide parish of Hayes. This church, consisting of chancel, nave, and south porch, with belfry and short shingled spire of later fifteenth century date, was much disfigured in 1864, when a north aisle was added. At that date the outer walls were rebuilt, after a strange pattern, in flints and much red brick. In 1896 the wooden belfry and spire were unfortunately removed, when a strangely ugly small brick and flint western tower was erected. The various "restorers" have only left two distinct traces of Chicheley's church, with perhaps also some pieces of the old timber porch. The pointed south doorway is a well-moulded example of the first half of the fifteenth century. The terminals of the hood-mould (perchance restored) show the heads of a bishop and a king, doubtless intended for Chicheley and Henry VI. The font is clearly of Chicheley's date. It is well carved and well proportioned, and of an unusually large size for a small church. The somewhat shallow octagonal bowl is surrounded by a continuous band of small quatrefoils.

At the west end of the nave is a three-light old window. Another of two lights may be noticed on the south side of the chancel, and a third one of similar design is in the modern north vestry, removed from the north wall of the chancel. These windows are of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date. The timbers that supported the old belfry in the western bay of the nave still remain.

There is a canopied (restored) table tomb in the north wall of the chancel to Edward Cheesman, cofferer to Henry VII., who died in 1547. Against this wall is a

small brass (with effigies) to Francis Awsiter, of Southall Manor, 1624, and his wife, Frances, and their four children.

A cross was set up in the churchyard in 1864 to the memory of Archbishop Chicheley, who died in 1443, with the Latin couplet:

"Tenet tellus corpora sub cruce;
Tenet Christus animas in luce."

The stone selected for this cross was unfortunately so poor that much of the lettering has already disappeared.

PERIVALE, known only as Greenford Parva up to the sixteenth century, possesses the smallest parish church in Middlesex; its dedication has not been ascertained. It consists of chancel, nave, south porch, and western tower. The building dates from the middle of the twelfth century, but nothing definite of that period now remains, except parts of an old doorway removed to the vestry. There is a thirteenth century doorway at the west end, concealed by the later tower. There is a small "low side" window, with a shoulder arch, in the usual place in the south wall of the chancel, called locally by that absurd misnomer, "a leper window." In 1875, during a drastic restoration, when a chancel arch was inserted and a north vestry added, another thirteenth century feature, a trefoiled-headed lancet, was removed from the north chancel wall to light the vestry. The other windows of the church, north and south, are square-headed restorations. A Jacobean screen across the chancel disappeared in 1875. The south entrance is new; the porch is late Jacobean. The plain rescraped octagonal font is fifteenth century. It has an interesting four-sided raised cover, with an octagonal base, inscribed: "This was the gift of Simon Coston, Gent., Mar. 26, 1665." Above the west end of the nave is a heavy tie-beam, which probably supported a belfry or bell-cot before the western tower was added. This

tower, with a pyramidal roof, is entirely of wood, and covered throughout with weather-boarding. In the chancel is a brass, with small effigies, to Henry Mylett (1500), his two wives, and fifteen children. An illustration of this church in Walford's *Greater London* (i., 217), taken from under the timber tower, shows the western doorway of the original outer wall, with a mutilated holy-water stoup on the right hand, and also gives the outline of the old Jacobean screen seen through the open doorway.

PINNER (St. John Baptist) has a good fifteenth century embattled tower, with north-east newel turret and western diagonal buttresses. The tower is surmounted by a large wooden cross, encased in lead, which dates from 1637. The old cruciform plan of the church has been destroyed by a south aisle, added in 1859, to seat the children of the Commercial Travellers' School, and by an 1879 vestry on the same side. Pinner was a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a new church was consecrated on this site in 1321. There are, however, but few fragments of old work now to be found in the fabric. The church had been much maltreated in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, and the "restoration" which it underwent at the hands of Mr. Pearson in 1879 was of an uncompromisingly drastic character. "The tower was completely renovated, the chancel gable and south porch rebuilt, the windows, doorways, bases, and capitals renewed throughout the church, and the nave and chancel re-roofed." The font is a well-proportioned late fifteenth century example, with quatrefoil enclosing Tudor flowers on the eight panels of the bowl. There are no early monuments, the oldest being the small brass of a chrisom child, *c.* 1560. No special interest pertains to the later monuments. There are articles on this church in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, vol. iii. (1867), and vol. i., n.s. (1905). In Sperling's *Church Walks* (1849) are some illustrations of early details.

RUISLIP has a large, well-proportioned church (St. Martin), but the whole building underwent a far too severe restoration at the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott in 1869-72. The treatment of the fabric would have been much milder if undertaken at a later date. It consists of chancel, nave of six bays, battlemented aisles, western porch, and tower attached to west end of the south aisle. The arcades of the nave, six arches on the north and five on the south, are of the date of Edward I., at the close of the thirteenth century; the piers are alternately circular and octagonal. The long chancel is a good example of Perpendicular of the first part of the fifteenth century. In the northern pier of the chancel arch are the remains of the rood-stairs. The south aisle is carried a bay further than the north aisle, having an archway into the chancel. The tower stands, as it were, within the westernmost bay of the south aisle, and is approximately of the same date as the chancel; the basement is entered from the church both on the east and the north. The embattled tower, with low pyramidal roof, is of good, bold design; there is an internal newel staircase in the north-west angle. The Purbeck marble font is of late Norman or Transitional date. The squared bowl, which has the lower surface rounded off, stands on a central shaft, with four smaller shafts at the angles. In 1857 some curious fifteenth century wall paintings were uncovered. Over the entrance to the rood-loft stairs, at the east end of the north aisle, is a representation of St. Michael weighing souls, with the Blessed Virgin standing by, lightening the scale by a touch of her finger; here, too, is St. Laurence, with gridiron. The series of paintings over the nave arcades were supposed to illustrate the life of St. Martin. In the south wall of the chancel and in the south aisle are piscina niches. There is an interesting old door in the north wall of the chancel, with curious ironwork fastenings. It used to lead into a small vestry or sacristy, which has long

ago disappeared. There are four of the old oak seats, *c.* 1500, with buttressed standards, of the usual Middlesex pattern, remaining at the west end of the nave; a large number disappeared at the restoration. The church contains two good old iron-clamped oak chests, both *c.* 1400; they are locally described in error as of chestnut wood. The one under the tower measures 8 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in., and 2 ft. 4 in. high; the other, at the east end of the south aisle, is a little smaller.

In the chancel is a brass, with effigies, of John Hawtrey (1596) and his wife, Bridget. There are various other Hawtrey monuments, including a marble mural memorial to Lady Bankes (Mary Hawtrey), widow of Sir John Bankes, the famous defender of Corfe Castle; she died in 1645. In the nave is the brass effigy of Mary (Living), wife of Abraham Kent, alderman of London, 1609.

ST. PANCRAS.—The little building now known as Old St. Pancras church was once the parish church of the largest parish in Middlesex, which measured no less than eighteen miles round. Although at first sight it might be taken for a restored Norman building, all the western portion of the church was added to it in 1847-8, when the old western tower was destroyed and the rest of the church so repaired and altered as to amount to rebuilding. It was always very small, and seems to have consisted only of a nave and chancel, with a square tower on the west front; and as far as one can judge from old and imperfect representations of it, as well as from its known antiquity, it is not improbable that it was originally a Saxon structure. Its dedication to St. Pancras, to whom only eleven churches in the kingdom are dedicated, may also be an argument in favour of this early date, as it was to this saint that St. Augustine dedicated his first church at Canterbury. Whether it was this invocation, or some other association, induced the Roman Catholics for generations to use its churchyard cannot be determined; but Cardinal Wiseman, in his

Fabiola, referring to the church, says it was "the favourite burial place of Catholics till they had cemeteries of their own." This graveyard was almost entirely obliterated, and the church itself threatened, by the widening of the Midland Railway some years ago.

SHEPPERTON church (St. Nicholas) is a small building of simple cruciform design, consisting of chancel, nave, and two transepts, with a small tower at the west end. The walls are an amalgam of flints, with some bricks and tiles; but on the south there is a good deal of squared freestone introduced, arranged in places after a chequered fashion. The windows are all square-headed and of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date, at which time the building underwent considerable renovation. Much of the actual fabric of the walls, with its general plan, is probably of the thirteenth century. The tower, which is narrower in its north and south walls than in those east and west, is of brick, and was erected in 1710 by Rev. Lewis Atterbury, the rector. There must, however, have been an earlier tower, for in it are incorporated a good fifteenth century stone doorway, with squared hood-mould and spandrels, as well as other features of that date. Fourteen stone steps project at the south-west angle of this tower, giving outer access to the west gallery. There is another outside stairway to a small gallery in the north transept. At the bottom of these steps is a plain early coffin lid, with bevelled edges, of late twelfth or early thirteenth century date. There is a plain pointed doorway, blocked up, on the south side of the nave. The font has a large octagonal bowl; it appears to be fifteenth century, but a good deal rescraped.

In the *Dictionary of the Thames*, by Charles Dickens, jun., first published in 1881, it is stated that the present church of Shepperton was built in 1614 out of the debris of a former church standing over the Thames, and built on piles. This supposed tradition seems highly improbable, for a variety of reasons. It was unknown to Lysons, who wrote about the church in 1800.

SOUTH MIMMS, at the extreme north of the county, has an interesting church (St. Giles), consisting of chancel, with north chapel, nave of four bays, north aisle, and western tower. There was a south porch when Sperling described the church in 1849. He considered that the chancel dated *c.* 1380, the nave and tower about fifty years later, and the north aisle and chapel 1520. The church underwent trenchant restoration under Mr. Street in 1868. The earliest details of the church are the font and a piscina in the south wall of the chancel. The plain square font, with four small moulded shafts at the angles, is certainly of the earlier part of the thirteenth century, although the central shaft, having shallow fifteenth century tracery, is a later introduction. The piscina niche has a simple, wide trefoiled head, with a roll moulding. The embattled tower, of three stages, has a newel turret in the south-east angle, diagonal western buttresses, and square-headed bell-chamber windows. The north chapel is separated from the chancel by two depressed four-centred arches, springing from an octagonal pier; the arcade between the north aisle and the nave is of exactly similar construction. The north aisle and chapel, erected between 1523 and 1526, are of brick, with flint foundations. These north windows contain some interesting remnants of coloured glass, illustrative of the costume of that date. A memorandum of 1621 in the parish registers supplies valuable information as to the numerous windows removed at that date. All that now remains are seven small coloured groups of kneeling figures at the base of the windows, depicting donors and their children, with fragments of black-letter inscriptions. The first window westward, according to the memorandum, was the gift of Richard Walter and John Bowman in 1526. Here a man in a red gown kneels at a desk, with six sons in blue behind; whilst opposite, in a long red dress, is his wife, with three daughters in blue behind. Part of the inscription

remains. In the second window is the similar figure of a man in a red gown with a blue purse, with twelve youthful figures, all in red, behind him. A few remaining words show that these typify "the young men and maydes of the parish" who gave this window in 1526. In the base of the third and fourth windows are other kneeling groups, denoting the good women of the parish and other private donors of the like years. These groups are reproduced in colour in the late Mr. Cass's admirable monograph on this parish, printed in 1877. The memorandum out of the register and other particulars are given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1830, and a south view of the church appeared in the same magazine for 1795. There is no chancel arch. The rood-loft stairway remains in the south wall. The parclose screen of the north chapel or Frowyke chantry is described elsewhere.

Against the inner north wall of the chancel stands a table tomb under an elaborate canopy supported by four Renaissance pillars. Into the ornaments of the lower part are introduced the initials R. H. It is, however, nameless and dateless, and has hitherto eluded certain identification. Most probably, however, judging from instructions in the will, it is the tomb of Henry Frowyke, who died in 1523, and the initials those of Robert Hill, Vicar of South Mimms, who was a witness of his will and carried out his wishes. The tomb in the adjacent chantry, also canopied, bearing the effigy of a knight in full armour, with his feet on a lion, is ornamented with the Frowyke arms. It is generally accepted that it commemorates Henry's only son and heir, who predeceased his father. In a slab on the chancel floor is a brief Norman-French inscription to Henri Frowyk, and a shield of the Frowyke arms. This commemorates Henry Frowyke, who died in 1386. His eldest son, Thomas, died in 1448, and was buried beneath the tower of this church. There is a mutilated brass, with effigies, to him

and his wife, Elizabeth (Ashe), and their six sons and thirteen daughters. The Frowyke chantry was restored in 1898. There is also a brass to Roger Hodsden, 1606, his wife, Jean, and their five sons and five daughters.

STANMORE church (St. John the Evangelist), as it now stands, is the third parish church. The present somewhat imposing and pretentious fabric, an imitation of fourteenth century work, was designed by Mr. Clutton; the foundation-stone was laid by the Earl of Aberdeen, in the presence of Queen Adelaide, in 1849. The first church stood near the present railway terminus. A solitary tombstone remains to mark the site, and records the name of Baptist Willoughby, an incumbent of the parish, who died in 1610. The second church, whose dismantled and unroofed ivy-clad walls and substantial tower stand immediately to the west of their supplanter, was of considerable interest, and ought never to have been disused. It is still a fine example of early seventeenth century brickwork. This church has an internal area of 81 ft. by 22 ft., and also two transepts, each 12 ft. square. The lofty embattled tower, with north-east turret, is substantially buttressed. This church was consecrated by Archbishop Laud when Bishop of London. He says in his diary: "1632, Julii 17, Tuesday. I consecrated the church at Stanmore Magna in Middlesex, built by Sir Jo. Wolstenham." At the trial preceding his martyrdom, one of the egregious charges was that he outwent Popery itself in the consecration of chapels. One of the three instances alleged was that of "a chapel of Sir John Worstenham's building." To this particular charge, Laud replied that Stanmore was no chapel, but a parish church.

The founder of this church was Sir John Wolstenholme, who died in 1639. Nicholas Stone, the famous monumental sculptor, carved a beautiful and dignified effigy of Sir John in white marble. This portraiture, considered by the latest writer on Stone's works (Mr. Bullock, 1908)

Ruined Church, Great Stanmore.

to be "the most finished effigy from his chisel," was removed from Laud's church in 1881, and now rests in a niche at the east end of the north aisle of the new church. Another translated monument, which stands under the tower at the west end of this aisle, is the great marble four-post bedstead on which recline the effigies of Sir John Wolstenholme, the son of the founder (1670), and his wife, Dorothy. Beneath them are two grandchildren of the founder, who died in infancy. A third of these many monuments is a mural one against the north wall of the same aisle, to John Burnell, 1605, citizen of London and merchant of the Company of Clothworkers. There are kneeling figures of the merchant, his wife, Barbara, and their three sons and four daughters. There is also the small standing figure of a fourth son, supposed to have been still-born. Barbara survived her husband many years, dying in 1631. She was lady of the manor, and gave the site for the Laudian church. This monument was first erected in the old church by the station early in 1632, moved to its successor in 1637, and again translated to its present position. It is kept in repair by the Clothworkers' Company.

FIG. 10.—STANMORE, ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST: FONT FROM OLD CHURCH.

The large pedestal font, with octagonal bowl, bearing the arms of Wolstenholme and the date 1634, was the work of Nicholas Stone (fig. 10). It is excellent of its kind, and of sufficient size to make its supersession by a modern font, the gift of Queen Adelaide, quite unnecessary. The beautifully carved oak cover, of coeval date, is quite a work of art. There is a photograph of this font, as well as an elevation to scale, in Mr. Bullock's recent work. The porch of the Laudian church, now in ruins, was also carried out by Stone.

STANWELL church (St. Mary) is a large and interesting fabric, consisting of chancel, clerestoried nave with aisles, north porch, and western tower and spire. There was a general rebuilding of the body of this church in the thirteenth century; to this period belong the nave arcades. The north aisle was rebuilt and a new north porch of timber erected in 1863, when much other wholesale restoration was achieved. The clerestory is of fifteenth century style, but almost all the windows and other details throughout the church were renewed or much altered during the nineteenth century. The chancel is, in the main, of fourteenth century date. The north and south walls of the chancel have a continuous cinquefoiled arcade of ogee arches (eight on each side) resting on slight Purbeck shafts. This ornamental work—to be compared with similar treatment of the chancel of Norbury, Derbyshire, and others of about the same date—is stated in a recent Middlesex guide to have been intended for the use of the monks of Chertsey Abbey. But the arcades are not intended for seats. There was no connection between Stanwell and Chertsey till a century after these arcades were erected; and why ever should the monks so flagrantly break their rule as to come and seat themselves in a secular quire! The lofty, embattled tower, which is engaged on three sides, appears to have been built up within the western bay of the thirteenth century church at a somewhat later date, and is handsomely diapered

Stanwell Church.

in stone and flint. Much of the upper part, however, is of fifteenth century date. There is a projecting stairway up to the bell-chamber at the south-west angle, where there is a substantial brick buttress of later work. The tower is crowned with a lofty octagonal shingled (formerly leaded) spire of timber. As is the case with almost all such old spires, the sun has warped some of the timbers, and it leans to the south-east.

The most elaborate extant monument is that on the north side of the chancel to Thomas Lord Knyvet (1622) and his wife, Elizabeth. It is the work of Nicholas Stone, the famous statuary, and cost £215. The church has suffered a grievous loss in the destruction, through various needless "restorations," of about the most interesting monument in all Middlesex. This was the canopied tomb, with kneeling brasses, to Thomas Windsor, 1485, who gave the fullest and most detailed instructions in his will for its erection to the north of the high altar, where it was to be used for the rites of the Easter Sepulchre. Thomas Windsor was so great a benefactor to the parish, as well as to the church, that it might have been expected that some local care would be taken to preserve it. But, no; it was ejected from the chancel to the north aisle in 1830, and from the aisle to the churchyard in 1863. Some fragments were lying about in the churchyard in 1867, when Mr. Heales wrote a paper on this church for the third volume of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, but even these seem to have now disappeared. There is a drawing of this tomb in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793; and also of the half-effigy brass of Richard de Thorp, rector, 1408.

STEPNEY.—The church of St. Dunstan, Stepney, is one of the oldest and most interesting of the larger churches of Middlesex. It has retained not a few of its old features, notwithstanding the severity and frequency of the "restorations" which it suffered during

the last century. This east end parish of London was formerly of vast extent, including the whole of London east of the city, south of Hackney, and north of the Thames. The growth of population brought about the separation of nine separate parishes out of the original Stepney within a century and a half, beginning with St. Paul's, Shadwell, in 1669, and closing with All Saints', Poplar, in 1820. As to the comparatively modern restorations of the old church of St. Dunstan, £5,000 was expended in 1806 on repairs of the exterior and interior; in 1828 the church was "thoroughly repaired and beautified"; upwards of £3,500 was expended on further restoration in 1846-8, as mentioned in Mr. Sperling's *Walks in Middlesex* (1849) when the east wall was refaced in brick; a brass near the west entrance records a restoration of 1871-2, when the present porches were erected and a second vestry provided; in 1885-6 much new work was carried out in the interior, including choir seats and a pulpit, as well as a new east window and the lowering of the ground all round the church, at a cost of nearly £4,000; and in 1899 yet another restoration, at a cost of £5,600, was undertaken, as mentioned on a brass plate by the west door, when the galleries were removed, the seats remodelled, the organ rebuilt, and the bells rehung. On October 12th, 1901, an alarming fire broke out at the east end, which did grievous damage to roofs and fittings, necessitating a further expenditure of over £7,000.

The church of St. Dunstan consists of a chancel of two bays, with vestries on the north, a clerestoried nave with wide aisles of five bays, north and south porches, and a western tower. The continuous course of repairs and restorations of last century have brought about almost the entire refacing of the exterior walls, whilst the restoration of 1899 unhappily included the stripping of the old plaster from the interior walls, after a fashion that was never dreamt of by the original builders. The

rubble walls are doubtless, in parts, of earlier dates, but the obvious workmanship clearly belongs to different periods of the fifteenth century. The well-proportioned western tower is 92 ft. high; the newel staircase in the north-west angle is wholly internal; in the large belfry swing ten bells. An octagonal cupola used to rise from within the battlements, as shown in various old engravings. The window tracery, the vaulted porches, and most of the roofs are new. The doorways within both north and south porches are, however, original fifteenth century work; beside each of them is a holy-water stoup. There is no chancel arch, but the extent of the old chancel is obvious. The old rood-screen stood in front of the fifth piers from the west end right across the church, the aisles continuing two bays beyond and forming chapels. In the south wall is the squared projection which still contains the stone stairs giving access to the former rood-loft, and continued upwards to the roofs, with doorways of fifteenth century date. At the east end of the north aisle is a squint to the high altar; this was discovered and opened out at the 1846-8 restoration. In the south wall of the chancel are three good sedilia of thirteenth century style; they underwent considerable restoration at the like date.

The most interesting relic in the church is a remarkable stone panel of the Crucifixion, with St. Mary and St. John, within a decorative border. This Norman rood is clearly of twelfth century date. It was formerly over the south entrance, but was placed in its present position against the north wall of the chancel in 1899 for its better preservation. There has been some controversy as to the font, which has a square bowl supported by a central shaft and four smaller pillars of Purbeck marble at the angles. It has certainly been much rechiselled and "restored"; but there can be no reasonable doubt that it is in the main of Norman date.

Much of the present seating of the nave is made up

of old oak panelling of eighteenth century date, which previously formed part of the old high pews. In a gallery over the western entrance is a single fine example of a poppy-head bench-end.

The most notable and oldest monument is that to Sir Henry Collet, twice Lord Mayor of London, who died in 1510. It is a large and beautifully canopied table-tomb in a recess on the north side of the chancel. The projecting tomb is of polished Purbeck marble. It is kept in repair by the Mercers' Company. A mural monument to Dame Rebecca Berry, 1606, has attracted and continues to attract a good deal of vulgar attention on account of "The Fish and the Ring" legend which has been foolishly attached to it. The well-known story has been associated with this lady and her monument in consequence of a fish and an annulet forming part of an heraldic coat.

Another stone, which goes by the name of "The Carthage Stone," has for a long time aroused curiosity. It is a plain rectangular slab, thus inscribed:

Of Carthage wall I was a stone,
Oh mortals view with pity,
Time consumes all, it spareth none,
Man, mountain, town nor city.
Therefore, oh mortals, now bethink
You wherunto you must,
Since now such stately buildings
Lie buried in the dust.

THOMAS HUGHES, 1663.

STRATFORD-LE-BOW.—In 1311 the inhabitants of Bow, in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, petitioned the Crown for leave to erect a chapel on a waste piece of ground in the centre of the highway owing to the distance from their parish church. The Crown granted them the site, and ere long the chapel was built. An endeavour was made to secure the independence of this chapel or church in the fifteenth century, but it was

not until 1719 that the church of Bow ceased to be a chapel-of-ease to Stepney and the incumbent obtained the title of rector. The church still stands in a confined space in the centre of the great road from London to the Eastern Counties, with the traffic running so close to both the north and south walls that there are double windows in the interior to deaden the sound. The building consists of chancel, clerestoried nave of six bays, north and south aisles, and western tower. The original fabric, as built in the days of Edward II., evidently gave way to a probably enlarged successor in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The whole building is obviously of the Third Pointed period, and rather late in that style. There is no chancel arch, nor are there any traces of the screen, but the chancel roof is nearly flat and divided into several panels by intersecting beams with carved bosses. The piers of the nave arcades are octagonal, with plainly moulded capitals and bases. The aisles are exceptionally narrow, the south aisle having a clear width of only fourteen feet, whilst that on the north is about a foot wider. This narrowness was doubtless caused by the contracted nature of the site. The embattled tower, beneath which is the main entrance to the church, has a fine square-headed doorway, with a handsome four-light window above it with exceptionally good tracery, *c.* 1490. The greatest care was taken to preserve these features and not to renew them during a recent wholly satisfactory restoration of the fabric. There is an embattled newel turret in the south-east angle of the tower, which rises above the rest of the battlements and carries a vane. The highest of the three stages of the tower is of later work, for much of it fell in the year 1829. A Renaissance marble font, of good design but out of keeping with the fabric, was given to the church in 1624. Its Third Pointed predecessor was then discarded, and for many years was desecrated by being used for menial purposes at the

parish workhouse. It was recovered about 1850, and the octangular bowl, each face carved with a quatrefoil, was eventually placed on a new suitable shaft. Near the font stands a single well-turned Jacobean coffin-stool. This interesting and well-preserved historic church contains a few noteworthy monuments, but none of any great age. The oldest is a small mural Gothic stone against the south wall of the south aisle, which bears two elaborately quartered brass coats of arms and a brass inscription to Grace Amcotte, who died in 1551. On the north side of the chancel is a monument to Thomas Jordan, 1671. Two of those in the nave, high up over the arcades, commemorate Mrs. Prisca Coburne, 1701, a great benefactor to the church and parish, and her niece, Alice Coburne, "a sainted maiden," who died on May 8th, 1689, of the smallpox, aged 15, on the very day that had been fixed for her wedding. An admirable feature of this church is that a small neat frame hung beneath each monument contains a printed copy of the inscription, with extracts from the parish registers and a brief account of the family.

TOTTENHAM parish church (All Saints) is a large and much patched building. Though greatly restored and considerably extended eastward in 1876-7, it still retains some architectural details of interest. It consists of chancel, clerestoried nave, aisles, transepts, north and south porches, and western tower. The old parts of the nave arcades appear to date from about 1380, but there were extensive alterations about 1500, to which latter date belongs some of the brickwork of the much defaced tower and of the beautifully worked southern porch, with a chamber over it. The rood-stair turret on the south side still exists, but the modern extensions eastward have been so considerable that it appears quite out of place.

In 1590 Sir R. Godard gave a clock, with a face, for the west front of the tower. The font is modern; the old

TOTTENHAM CHURCH: SOUTH PORCH.

one was rechiselled in 1854 at a considerable cost. The oldest memorial in the church is a brass inscription to Thomas Hymyngham, 1499. There are some late seventeenth century brasses, but several earlier ones, including one of Walter Hunt, priest, 1419, figured by Sperling, have been lost or stolen during last century restorations. The best of the mural monuments is an elaborate one to Sir Robert Barkham and Mary (Wilcocks), his wife, with small figures of the twelve children below; the eight girls, kneeling in a row with linked arms, are exceptionally quaint. Lord Coleraine, who lodged at the old rectory, caused ivy to be planted all round the church in 1690; but the vestry, in 1741, ordered it all to be stripped off.

TWICKENHAM parish church (St. Mary) collapsed, with the exception of the western tower, in 1713. This destruction was doubtless brought about by the undermining of numerous vaults. It was rebuilt in brick in 1714, from the designs of John James, architect, under the supervision of Sir Godfrey Kneller. The work is considered to be fairly good in the classical style, and is certainly far in advance of the neighbouring church of Isleworth. The interior was restored and considerably rearranged in 1859, and was again redecorated in 1897. Foremost among the variety of somewhat important eighteenth and nineteenth century monuments is that by Bishop Warburton to the poet Pope, and the tablet put up by Pope to his parents. The archway into the fifteenth century tower is almost exactly similar to the one at Isleworth. All the tower details are of the middle of the fifteenth century, though it is usually locally stated that it was built by William of Wykeham. Much of the stonework was restored in 1897. The top stage of the south-east turret is of brick; it carries a vane of the year 1705.

UXBRIDGE, though an ancient market town, was in the parish of Hillingdon, and its old church (St. Margaret)

was but a chapel-of-ease up to 1842. St. Margaret's stands on a singularly cramped site, and is hidden from the High Street by the Market House. The present fabric, according to Newcourt's *Repertorium*, dates from 1447, but there is documentary evidence of a chapel here in 1281. It is not, however, of much interest, for it was so very "thoroughly restored" by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1872. It consists of nave with aisles, short chancel, and small north-western tower. The fifteenth century octagonal font is figured in Redford's *History of Uxbridge* (1818). There is an elaborate marble monument north of the altar, with the reclining effigy of Leonora Bennet, a Belgian lady, who married for her third husband Sir John Bennet, Chancellor to Anne of Denmark, the Queen of James I. She died in 1638. Below the effigy is the ghastly representation of the window of a charnel house.

WEST DRAYTON church (St. Martin) is of some importance as a well-proportioned fifteenth century church, and has a few interesting details; but it suffered most cruelly from restoration in 1852. The account given of this fabric and its contents by Mr. Sperling in 1849 shows how considerable were the losses then sustained, in addition to wholesale smartening up of the architecture, involving the obliteration of not a few noteworthy features. Among the details then destroyed or stolen were a large amount of pre-Reformation sittings or open pews, much stained window glass, an old pulpit, a considerable variety of funeral and genuine armour, numerous wall paintings, the base of a screen, some old regimental colours, and several early monuments. The church consists of chancel, clerestoried nave with aisles, south porch, and western tower. There is one relic remaining of a thirteenth century church in the double piscina in the south wall of the chancel. The church itself, with its lofty clerestoried nave and arcades of three bays, was obviously built about the middle of the

fifteenth century. Some of the head terminals of the exterior hood-moulds of the windows are supposed to pourtray Henry VI. and Edward IV., with their respective queens; but most of these heads are renewals of 1852. The tower, of flint and rubble with stone quoins, is about half a century later in date. It is of three stages, has a north-east newel turret crowned by an eighteenth century cupola, and a brick parapet. It is in poor repair, is a good deal weighted with ivy, and has lost the tracery of its bell-chamber windows; but the whole effect is so picturesque, and is such an effective contrast to the smug neatness of the body of the church, that it is impossible not to look forward with misgiving to the days of its restoration. In a well-intentioned but carelessly compiled "historical sketch" of this church, to be obtained within its walls, the extraordinary blunder is made of supposing that this tower was built in the days of King John!

The octagonal font is highly remarkable both in construction and carving, and is perhaps older than the general fabric of the church, as it seems to be quite early in the fifteenth century. It has several times been illustrated and described, but never hitherto with success or accuracy. The shaft rests on four nondescript monstrous animals, in this respect resembling the earlier font of Castle Frome, Herefordshire. The shaft itself is enclosed in open panel work, an exceptional arrangement, but which is, however, to be also noted in the case of the fonts of Littleham-by-Exmouth and Conway. Three of the panels of the octagonal bowl have subject carvings, representing a Pieta, the Rood with Sts. Mary and John, and a sculptor at work carving foliage, probably intended for the carver of the font. The rest of the panels have angel-borne shields. It is superfluous to correct the various strange blunders made in explaining the font imagery; but one must be set right, because it appears in the booklet obtainable in the church. "Our

Lady of Pity attending the sick" is a complete misnomer. A Pieta, or Our Lady of Pity, is the invariable title of the subject, hallowed by centuries of continuous and general use, of the Blessed Virgin with the dead Christ on her knees, and that is what is here represented.

Under the tower is an old fifteenth century chest, heavily clamped with iron, and having a solid coved lid and three great hasps for padlocks; it is 4 ft. in length. West Drayton is one of the five or six churches that retains both chalice and paten of pre-Reformation date; they are each hall-marked with the date 1507-8. Over the spread of the foot of the chalice are the names of the donors—*Orate p'aiabs, Johis Porpyll, et Johanne uxoiei.* In addition to a variety of later mural monuments, there are brasses in the chancel to Richard Roos, mercer of London, 1406; to Robert Machell, gentleman, 1557; and to James Goode, a physician, 1581. At the unhappy restoration these brasses and their arms were mischievously rearranged, one of the shields being refixed upside down. At the east end of the south aisle is a brass mural tablet, in an effective border, to "John Burnell, gentilman, some tyme officer of the seller to the moste noble prynce of famous memory kyng Henry the viiith." He died in 1551.

WHITCHURCH, or Stanmore Parva, has a parish church to which that much misused word "unique" may be justly applied. The embattled west tower of stone, but covered with plaster, has a north-east newel turret and diagonal western buttresses. A classical west doorway, with a circular light over it, are interpolations of the time of the reconstruction of the rest of the church. The date of the tower is towards the close of the fifteenth century. The Canons estate of this parish—so called because it had belonged to the Austin canons of the priory of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield—came into the hands, in 1710, of James Brydges, Duke of Chandos,

THE FONT, WEST DRAYTON CHURCH.

through marriage with the heiress of Lake. The duke immediately began to build a vast and vulgarly magnificent mansion, on which, and on the grounds, he squandered money without stint. His love of lavish ornament caused him to pull down the body of the church in 1715, and to rebuild it on pseudo-classic lines. It now consists of chancel, nave, south porch, and northern mausoleum. No expense was spared in the beautifying of the new church. The best of materials and the best of artists were employed, with the result that the whole is still striking and pleasing of its kind, though marred by recent tasteless interference. The ceilings and walls of the church are entirely covered with paintings, the work, as is usually stated and repeated on a descriptive leaflet in the church, "of the French artists, Verrio and Laguerre, who came over to England especially to execute them." This statement is, however, a careless blunder, for Verrio died in 1707, and it is doubtful whether Laguerre had any share in the wall paintings. The ceiling of the nave is divided into eight compartments, representing certain of the more striking passages in the life of our Lord. On the walls are paintings of the four evangelists, and figures symbolic of the Christian virtues. The Adoration of Jehovah over the altar is an imposing and fine composition. The pictures on each side of the altar, the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Descent from the Cross, are by Belluchi. In a recess behind the altar, in a case carved by Gibbons, is the small organ built by Gerard Schmidt, a nephew of the famous Father Schmidt, and played on by Handel during the years 1718-1721. This organ was restored and enlarged in 1877, but its general appearance is the same as in the days of Handel. A cheap attempt was made some twenty years ago, and at intervals repeated, to upset the statement that Handel played on the Whitchurch organ, alleging that he used the instrument in the private chapel at Canons. It has, however, been

conclusively shown that there was at that time no organ at Canons. The Whitchurch musical services in the days of the Duke of Chandos, when an orchestra, in addition to the organ, was employed, were said to be "superior both as to numbers and excellence to any of the European Court bands of that period."

The gallery at the west end is divided into three compartments; the centre one, used by the Duke of Chandos, still retains its costly upholstery. The wide stairs leading to the gallery, and particularly the iron balustrades, are of excellent workmanship. The pedestal font below the gallery is of white and grey marble. The church was not improved by the stained glass placed in the windows about 1860. Worse mischief was done in 1897, when a new altar and screen behind it were placed in the sanctuary. This semi-Gothic reredos is completely out of keeping with the whole design of the church. The original one, in every way more suitable, has been removed to the vestry. In 1905 the original ironwork of the sanctuary was pulled about, when new oak quire stalls and "clergy desks" were supplied. Various large prayer-books for the use of the poorer parishioners used to be chained to the pews, but these have all disappeared. The duke also gave a handsome set of silver-gilt altar vessels, eight in number.

Adjoining the church, on the north of the chancel, is a roomy chapel or mausoleum, paved with black and white marble, but out of repair. Here are the extravagant monuments of the Duke and his two wives, and a few others of later date. It is but very seldom that a churchyard monument has a sixteenth century date, but near the south entrance is the table-tomb of John Francklin, of Canons, who died on February 10th, 1596. In another part of the churchyard is the much-sought tombstone, of comparatively recent erection, to William Powell, "the Harmonious Blacksmith," who was parish clerk in Handel's time.

WILLESDEN has a church (St. Mary) of some historic value in the midst of somewhat mean surroundings. It was restored in 1852, and again in 1872. It previously consisted of chancel with south chapel, nave, south aisle, south porch, and tower at the west end of the aisle, but a former north aisle had been destroyed and bricked up about 1800. At the last restoration it was enlarged by the addition of a north aisle and transept, and the basement of the tower was thrown open to the church. Fragments of two Norman windows were found when removing the north wall. The square late Norman font stands upon a central and four corner shafts; it is of Purbeck marble. The nave, of three bays, has circular piers and an arcade of thirteenth century date on the south side. The windows are now chiefly imitations of fifteenth century style, but the alterations, repairs, pullings down and settings up of this fabric were so continuous that the assigning of dates to the different parts is almost guess-work. The lower part of the tower appears to be fourteenth century, but it was much altered in the next century. The south door is the original one, of the second half of the fourteenth century, with good tracery work. There is a fifteenth century sepulchral recess in the south wall of the south chapel.

An image of the Blessed Virgin in this church was made the subject of a special cult and of frequent pilgrimages. This image was burnt, with others, at Chelsea in 1548. Mr. Walter wrote a paper on this Willesden pilgrimage and image in the fourth volume of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*. The most interesting of the mural monuments is one to Richard Pame (1606), gentleman pensioner to Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queens Mary and Elizabeth, and James I. There are brasses to Bartholomew Willesden, 1492, and his two wives and four daughters; to Margaret Roberts, 1505, with six

children; to William Lichefield, vicar, 1517; and to Edward Roberts, 1585, and his two wives and nine children. A brass tablet, with questionable taste, commemorates the fact that Mr. Gladstone was "a frequent communicant from 1882 to 1894," during visits at Dollis Hill.

ROODS, SCREENS, AND LOFTS IN MIDDLESEX

By Aymer Vallance, F.S.A.

THE case of rood-screens in Middlesex at the present day is that of snakes in Iceland. There are not any. That is to say, no rood-screen stands *in situ*, although remains are to be found at Cowley and Hayes. Parcloses survive at Harefield and South Mimms. This, excepting fragments in several places, is practically all that the county can now show of the quantity of screenwork that it must once have possessed.

Various writers have remarked on the peculiar scarceness of Middlesex screenwork, and have tried to account for it. Thus Rev. Dr. Cox, in *English Church Furniture* (1907), writes: "The probable explanation is that the rapid increase of population and the smallness of most of the early fabrics led to such a rebuilding and extending of the churches that almost the whole of the old fittings disappeared."

This being so, it is impossible to say whether anything like local tradition prevailed, or what peculiarities, if any, may have distinguished Middlesex screenwork. The utmost that can be done is to gather up such scattered records of screenwork as are afforded by written documents, and by the evidences of the old buildings themselves. Alphabetical order is followed for the sake of convenience.

BEDFONT.—At the south side of the aisleless nave, and in line with the chancel arch, is an external projection of brick, built in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This projection is squared, measuring 11 ins. deep by 5 ft. 2 ins. wide. Everything having been cleared out from the inside, it is now a mere recess. But traces of steps, known to have existed there in the last century, prove that the structure was provided to contain the rood-stairs. In the nave, to north of the narrow Norman chancel-arch, are two niches with traces of mediæval painting in the hollow; features which, though anterior in point of date to the erection of the rood-loft, would eventually be brought into relation with the latter, when the nave-altar, standing at this spot, came to be overhung by the rood-loft like a canopy.

CHISWICK.—An engraving by Thomas Preist, dated 1738, preserves the record of an interesting feature which disappeared in the rebuilding of 1772. At the earlier date the wall at the south side of the nave, near the eastern extremity, ran up into a small gable, the apex of which rose almost to the level of the nave's roof-ridge. High in this gable was a two-centred arched window, which, provided it was mediæval, as it appears to have been, must have been constructed to illuminate the great rood. Slightly to westwards of this gable was a dormer, also on the south side.

COWLEY.—This church furnishes an excellent example of a simple and effective treatment of the rood arrangements in a small building where no great elaboration is available. There is no structural chancel-arch, but at a distance of 16 ft. 8 ins. from the east wall the limits of nave and chancel are defined by a bold, open arcading of six timber arches inserted in the space between the tie-beam and the high-pitched, king-post supported roof. The latter appears to date from about 1500. The arcading no doubt served to frame the rood

COWLEY : ARCADING IN ROOF-TIMBERS ABOVE SITE OF ROOD-SCREEN.

COWLEY : REMAINS OF SCREENWORK.

and accompanying images. After the Reformation the boarding attached to the framework served to display the Ten Commandments painted thereon, as described by Rev. J. H. Sperling in 1853. The base of the tie-beam is only 12 ft. 9 ins. above the ground, so that the loft on the top of the rood-screen, standing formerly at this point, must have reached up to the arcading, and must have formed together one complete and organically continuous structure from floor to roof. Immediately to west, on the south side, is a dormer, which probably represents one constructed here in mediæval times to light the great rood. Rood-screen and loft must have extended from side to side of the building—17 ft. 10 ins. Nothing now remains of either, except some fifteenth century panel-head traceries. Eight of these, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, and centring, as made up, at $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins., are now worked into a run of 6 ft. on the south side, at the step leading to the present chancel. Nine or ten more panel-heads of the same suite are embodied in a modern reredos.

EDMONTON.—An old drawing, dated May, 1768, in the Gough collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, depicts the exterior of the church, as then standing, with a rood-turret attached to the north aisle wall, and rising above the roof. There is no turret now, and, as Rev. J. H. Sperling is silent on the subject, it must have been removed some time before he wrote in 1853.

Internally every vestige of screenwork has disappeared. But in the north aisle wall, in line with the chancel entrance, is the rood-stair entrance, with bevelled stone doorway, 2 ft. $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. wide by 5 ft. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high to the crown of its four-centred arch. Within, the place of the ancient stairs is now degraded, most improperly, into a cupboard for the gas-meter! The upper door that issued onto the rood-loft has been destroyed, and filled up to obliterate all trace of it. However, it is obvious that the rood passage crossed the north aisle,

passed underneath the north arcade (which, with its lofty four-centred arches, was perhaps designed expressly to admit a loft), and then spanned the nave to the south wall. The rood-loft had thus an uninterrupted stretch of 45 ft. 8 ins., the width of the old church. For, though there is now a south aisle, the latter is only a modern addition of the year 1889.

ENFIELD.—"A cumbrous west gallery," writes Rev. J. H. Sperling in 1853, "has some Third-pointed carving, which must have formed part of the rood-screen or parclose." The gallery is there yet, but, unhappily, no sign of the carving remains. The only remnant of the ancient rood arrangements is the rood-stair turret. It stands attached externally to the north aisle between the second and third windows, reckoned from the east, of the north wall of the church. Its surface is sadly disfigured with stucco. Octagonal in plan and embattled at the top—in an eighteenth century drawing in the Gough collection the battlements are scarcely apparent—it rises above the level of the wall, and is lit by two small trefoil-headed windows.

Internally the entrance to the stair, closed by a modern door, in line with the piers of the chancel-arch, is to be seen in the outer wall of the north aisle. The doorway measures 2 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide by 6 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high to the crown of its four-centred arch. The door of egress onto the loft is now stopped, and hidden partly by plaster and partly by a modern gallery. Whether the loft passage, after crossing the north aisle, passed under the north arcade or through the wall in the spandrel of the arches to reach the rood-loft across the nave, there is nothing to show. In the same way, no trace is left of the passage across the south aisle.

FINCHLEY.—The whole church has been so much damaged by successive alterations that it has lost practically all trace of its ancient rood arrangements. There is not the slightest sign of the rood-stairs, but the upper

doorway, which formerly issued from the stair onto the top of the loft, is still to be seen (though now, unfortunately, blocked up) on the inner side to the north of the chancel-arch.

HAREFIELD.—In the north aisle the easternmost bay and about half of the next bay are fenced off by an oak parclose, forming a family pew. This screen, though "restored" and much made up with modern reproductions of old, contains a fair amount of genuine work. It has an

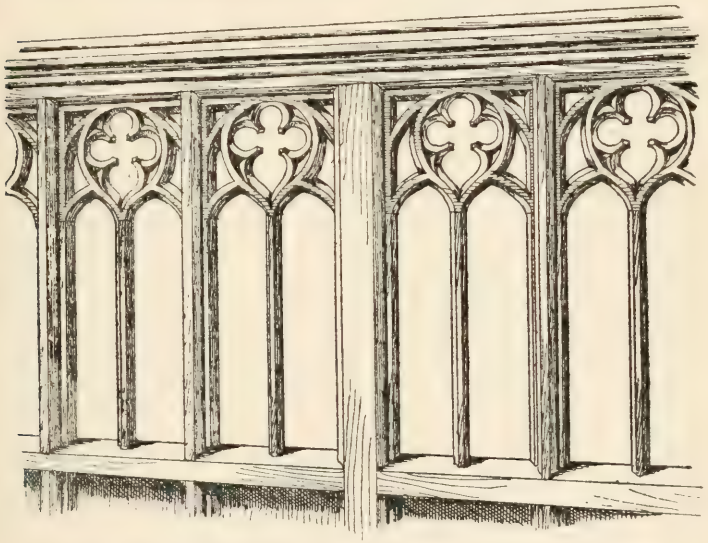


FIG. 11.—HAREFIELD CHURCH: PORTION OF PARCLOSE SCREEN.

elevation of 6 ft. 2 ins. It is rectagonal in plan, and is divided by moulded muntins into compartments centring at $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The muntins, continuing below the middle rail to the bottom, divide the solid lower part, which stands 3 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, into simple vertical panels without ornament. The open fenestration is 2 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high with tracery, to the depth of 10 ins., in the heads. A small moulded muntin, from the base of the tracery to the fenestration cill, subdivides each open

compartment into two lights. There is no variation in the tracery pattern, the form of which is late Decorated, rather than Perpendicular, although it is probably not earlier than the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The woodwork shows no trace of colour decoration. The screen has, from north to south, a run of 17 ft. 8 ins., consisting of fifteen compartments. Then, returned eastwards, it covers a total distance of 17 ft. 11 ins., not continuously, however, since it is interrupted by the pier of the north arcade. There is one run of 5 ft. 6 ins. long (four compartments) to west of the pier, and the other 9 ft. 9 ins. long (eight compartments, including the door) to east of the pier.

Moor Hall, so-called, in the parish of Harefield, was originally a camera of the Knights Hospitallers, auxiliary to their preceptory at Clerkenwell. Attached to the former is a desecrated little chapel, an early-English building on the plan of a simple parallelogram. Anciently it comprised two floors, the upper being the chapel of the chaplain and community. The interior is open to the roof; the roof itself a structure probably of the fifteenth century, with two massive tie-beams defining its subdivision into three bays. A number of mortice-holes in the under-side of the westernmost tie-beam show where the former screen stood that partitioned the area of the building into two distinct sections—to wit, a quire, or chancel, of two bays at the east, and an ante-chapel of one bay at the west end.

HARMONDSWORTH.—There is not a scrap of ancient screenwork left, nor any sign of rood-stairs. It is known, however, that the interval from the easternmost tie-beam in the nave to the roof was filled in with a solid tympanum, now removed, and it is possible that this may have been the old arrangement for a background to the great rood, prior to the time (*c.* 1580) when the Royal arms and black-letter texts were painted there. The eastern extremity of the nave roof is boarded and

panelled to a distance of nine feet from the end, exactly over the place where the rood must have stood. The existing panelwork is not original, but it is so very unlikely that a feature such as this, without motive in the absence of a rood, should have been arbitrarily introduced by any modern architect that it may be assumed to be a reproduction of the old rood-canopy that had been spared until 1863, when the church itself was "restored."

HARROW.—A coloured plate in R. Ackermann's *History of Colleges and Schools* shows a low wooden screen without gates, in 1815, standing at the chancel entrance. Its character is ambiguous; nor does Rev. J. H. Sperling throw very much light on the subject. "It is," he writes (1849 and 1853), "now intended to refix the panels of a Third-pointed rood-screen, which, before the late works" (*i.e.*, of extensive "restoration" by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1840), "was concealed behind the Jacobean screen." This excellent project was never carried out, and at the present day not the least remnant of screenwork survives *in situ*. But among other wreckage in the chamber over the south porch is to be seen a pair of oak doors, which appear to belong to the post-Reformation partition between nave and chancel, as illustrated by Ackermann. 6 ft. 2 ins. high, and totalling, when shut together, 4 ft. 9 ins. wide, they consist of plain rectagonal framed panels, except the uppermost panel of each door. These were filled with pierced and modelled strapwork carving, of coarse execution. Only one of the two, 1 ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long by 1 ft. 4 ins. high (exclusive of the surrounding mouldings), remains; also part of a dentil-table beneath the moulding on the top of the doors. The date of the work must be from about 1600 to 1630.

The chancel-arch, which has an opening of 17 ft. 4 ins., is so lofty that the rood must have been placed beneath the apex of the arch. The rood-stairs are embedded

in the north pier of the chancel-arch, but all external traces are now obliterated by modern stonework and cement. However, the northern arcade presents a certain peculiarity which has occasioned much speculation, but is undoubtedly to be explained as due to the rood-loft arrangements. Originally the easternmost pair of nave-arcade arches, opening respectively into the north and south transepts, corresponded with one another, each having an acute two-centred opening. But the northern one, or, rather, the eastern sweep of it, has been rebuilt and raised nearly six feet higher than the springing levels, so that it produces the appearance of three parts of a large semi-circular arch. Old voussoirs being re-used in the process with new ones, cut in imitation of the old mouldings, the rampant arch looks sufficiently plausible to be taken for original, were it not that the springers in the eastern respond still testify to the change that has been effected. Now this distortion—for it is nothing less—opens up an interesting question. The phenomenon is one rarely met with except in Kent, where it is familiar enough. The motive of it was, of course, to provide headway for persons passing from the aisle extension of the rood-loft into the central portion. In this case, indeed, it is the more extraordinary, since (the north chancel aisle being a modern addition) a northward extension of the rood-loft must necessarily have entailed the blocking, to a great extent, of window-light in the east wall of the north transept. Perhaps (and the oblique inclination, north-west and south-east, of the masonry of the east respond wall at this point seems to indicate as much) the loft-passage did not run from north to south, but rather from east to west, across the opening between nave and north transept. In any event, however, the occurrence of this singular Kentish mannerism in a Middlesex church requires accounting for; but, I submit, it can be accounted for without difficulty. Not only was Harrow in the diocese of Canterbury, but it was also,

for upwards of forty years, in the hands of one who, during no inconsiderable part of that period, was himself rector of Orpington, in Kent—to wit, Thomas Wilkinson, D.D., collated in February, 1478-9 (after having already been ten years vicar), to the rectory of Harrow. He died, rector of both churches, in 1511. The period of his tenure of office at Harrow exactly coincides with the period of the greatest rood-loft building activity, with its accompanying arch-distortion, in Kent. What, therefore, could be more natural than that the rector of a Kentish church should introduce a local Kentish device for the same purpose, when necessity arose, into his other church at Harrow, in Middlesex?

HAYES.—No screenwork remains *in situ*, but a box-door in the western tower is made up with fragments of at least two separate screens, comprising four different tracery patterns and parts of two lintel beams. One of the latter is heavily moulded, the other is lighter, with an embattled upper edge. The largest fragments of tracery, 21 ins. high, are made up into a sort of fanlight over the door. They are incomplete; joined together they measure a total length of 50 ins. They consist of Perpendicular pierced tracery within an arched form, the spandrels being of solid carved work. The fact that these spandrels are carved only on one surface, and flat on the other, may imply that the rood-screen (if these fragments do indeed belong to it) was not vaulted on both sides. In the solid panelling at the bottom of the doors below are four pieces of head-tracery ornament, 10 ins. wide by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high. In the upper part of the sides are altogether six tracery heads with trefoiled ogee forms, like those at Cowley, measuring each $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high by $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. wide. In the wainscoting below these are two complete tracery heads measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high by 19 ins. wide, and three parts each of two more traceries of the same design. In former days the east end of the north aisle, to the extent of a bay and a

half, was screened off for a chapel. This is proved by the discovery, in the course of the removal of the old flooring, of a cill on some brickwork. The latter crossed the aisle from north to south, 17 ft. There existed in the south aisle a corresponding chapel and screen, which ran 15 ft. long from north to south in line with the last named. Parts of this south screen remained, made up into a pew, until 1873, when, during the rectorship of Rev. J. Godding, it was removed. A very rough sketch of it in plate xi. of Thomas Mills's *History of Hayes* (1874) shows two compartments divided by moulded stiles into two panels each, the muntins, all but the end ones, cut off down to the level of the rail. The four traceried panel-heads in the sketch appear to be identical with those now inserted in the lower half of the box doors, although it is known that, even previously to Scott's "restoration" in 1874, some portions of screenwork had already become misused to form a lobby at the west end of the building.

HESTON.—"On the south side of the chancel-arch . . . are remains of rood-stairs, and the upper rood door." Thus wrote Rev. J. H. Sperling in 1849, before the body of the old church had been (to quote the words of Mr. G. E. Street) "destructively restored"—in fact, demolished—in 1865.

LITTLETON.—A notable feature is that, high up in the wall in the south-east of the nave, there is pierced on the splay a lancet-shaped window, broad in proportion to its height and widely splayed. Its presence there is unaccountable, unless, as has been supposed, it was designed to shed light upon the rood. In that event, it must have been of comparatively early insertion, at a time when the clerestory did not yet exist, for the latter, a Perpendicular work, affords such ample lighting that, once introduced, it entirely did away with any occasion for a rood window. It is due to say, however, that Rev. Dr. Cox, whose opinion commands profound

deference, considers that this window could not possibly have had any connection with rood or rood-loft.

MONKS HADLEIGH.—The registers, which begin in 1619, record that Thomas Emerson, lord of the manor and a generous benefactor, besides other gifts and furniture presented by him to the church, "built the screene betwixt the chancell and the church." However, it was cleared out by the late Mr. G. E. Street during his pretended "restoration" in 1848.

PERIVALE.—"A low Jacobean rood-screen forms," wrote Rev. J. H. Sperling in 1849 and 1853, "the only internal division between the chancel and nave." This screen, however, was "restored" away in 1875, to be used up, if local tradition may be trusted, in an extension to the half-timbered rectory-house hard by the church.

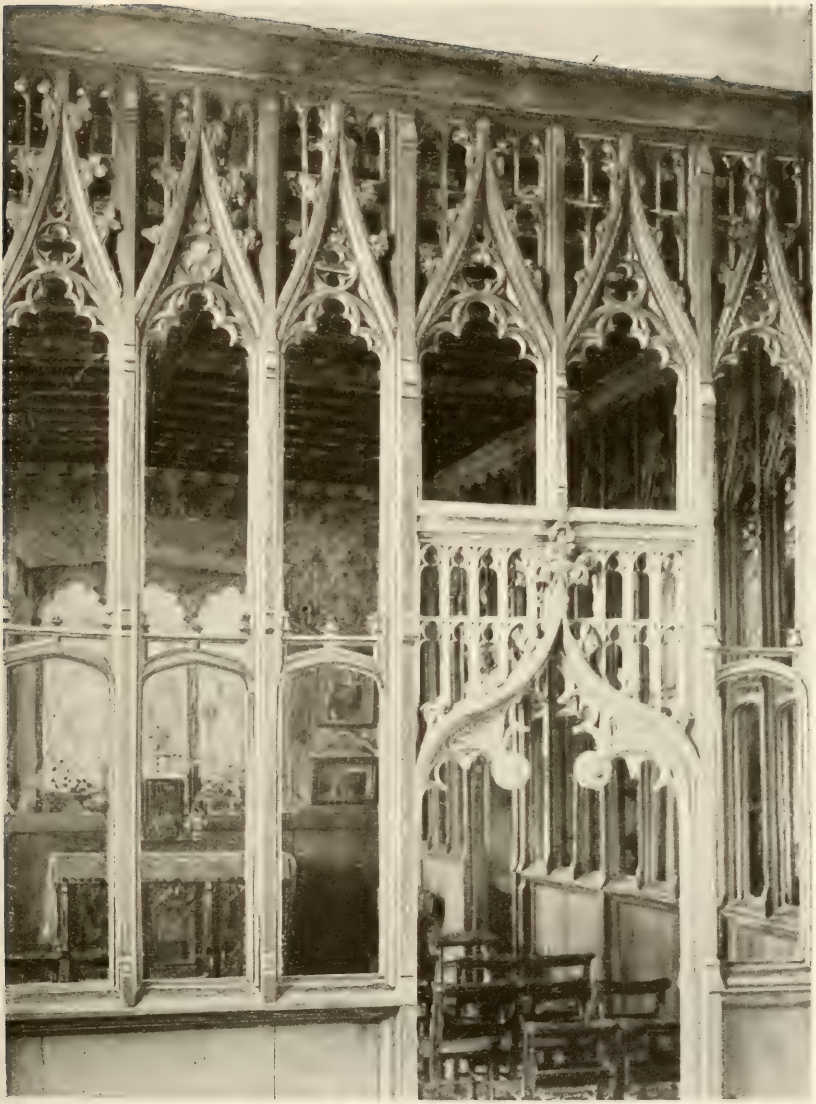
PINNER.—"The lower panels of a Third-pointed rood-screen remain, partially concealed by pews," wrote Rev. J. H. Sperling in 1853—that is, before the enlargement of the building in 1859, or its drastic "restoration" by Pearson in 1879.

RUISLIP.—No screenwork remains, but there are interesting survivals of the rood-loft arrangements. The rood-stair was entered from the south-east corner of the north aisle, through a doorway, 1 ft. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. wide by 5 ft. 1 in. high to the crown of its four-centred arch. The old door, studded with nails and furnished with two plain but handsome wrought-iron strap-hinges, opens inwards onto stone steps turning on a cylindrical newel. At the top of the stair the passage, piercing the arcade abutment, emerged into the nave at the extreme east end of the north arcade wall at a height of 13 ft. 1 in. above the nave floor level. This issue into the former loft is now stopped, but the outline of it can be seen quite distinctly under the plaster. The loft extended across the nave, a distance of 20 ft. 6 ins., and the south arcade is also pierced through to afford a passage along

the top of a south aisle screen. The doorway, 1 ft. 8 ins. wide, under a wooden lintel embedded in the wall, opens at a height of 10 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. from the nave floor, and the passage, descending one step, is tunnelled through the hollow of the wall, 29 ins. thick, and emerges into the south aisle at a height of 9 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. from the floor. A rebate on the jamb of the aperture shows that there was a door opening outwards into the aisle. Thence, as mentioned above, the passage was carried across the 16 ft. 2 ins. of the south aisle's width to the outer wall. With regard to the height measurements above given, allowance in each case should be made for the fact that at Sir Gilbert Scott's "restoration" (1869-72) he raised the floor some six inches above its original level. Externally, the rood-staircase, lit by two small rectagonal window-slits (now stopped up), shows in the re-entering angle between the chancel and the north aisle.

Inside, the nave roof, to the extent of 12 ft. 6 ins. from the east end of the nave, appears to have been enriched at one time with panelling or decorated plaster-work to form a canopy over the head of the great rood. However that may be, the ornament has all been hacked off and replaced, in modern times, by plain boarding.

SOUTH MIMMS.—This church has the distinction of possessing the most beautiful screen in the county. The pity is that so fine a screen should be merely a parclose, and not the rood-screen, every atom of which has perished. The parclose, completely shutting in the north chapel, consists of two sections. The one divides the chapel from the north aisle of the nave, the other the chapel from the chancel on the south of it. This last-named section stands so utterly detached from walls and piers as to suggest that the whole enclosure might at one time have occupied a more westerly position in the aisle of the nave. The north to south section, standing on a stone step or plinth about 6 ins. high, and



The Frowyke Chantry, South Mimms.

having a total elevation of 14 ft. 6 ins. from the floor, measures 15 ft. 6½ ins. long. It comprises a doorway, occupying the space of two compartments, between five compartments on the north or left-hand side and three on the right. The centring of the compartments, which are divided by moulded muntins, varies from 16½ to 17½ ins. The lower part, of plain panelling, stands 4 ft. high. Above the rail the openwork is 8 ft. 10 ins. high, with pierced tracery in the heads to the depth of 31 ins. Parts of the latter, excellent Perpendicular work, might, from their appearance, be earlier; but, as the screen stands, it must be as late as 1526, the date given in the glass for the north aisle and chapel. The sole feature the screen contains of pronouncedly late character is the transom, with carved knobs at the top and an openwork four-centred arched from beneath, altogether 9½ ins. high, springing at 2 ft. 9½ ins. above the rail. The doorway has a clear opening of 3 ft. 1½ ins., and is richly cusped and feathered in the head. A deep hollow in the lintel is now bare, but formerly no doubt contained, at intervals, square Gothic pateras or the finials of the crocketed enrichments of the head tracery. The principal muntins are buttressed on both sides alike—in fact, there is little or no difference in the amount of finish at the front and back of either section of the screen. The west to east section, 24 ft. 2½ ins. long, is of the same design as that already described. It consists of a doorway, occupying two compartments, between eleven compartments on the west or left-hand side and three on the right. The roof of the chapel is practically level with the top of the screen; nor is the nave's north aisle, though higher, high enough to allow of a loft being carried across it in continuation of the rood-loft in the nave. The rood-loft, then, must have been no longer than 19 ft. 9 ins., the width of the nave. Externally there is no sign of a rood-staircase; but, within, portions of the rood-stairs, on the north side of the

nave, remain. The entrance is built into the east splay of the easternmost window of the nave's south wall, the window-jamb forming the right-hand side of the door-frame, and the stair actually starting from the window-cill at a height of 32 ins. from the ground. The doorway is 1 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide by 4 ft. 6 ins. high to the crown of its four-centred arch. Five stone steps are left; they ascend from west to east to a height of 5 ft. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. above the floor level. The stair, turning sharply to the north, emerged into the loft at a height of nearly 9 ft. from the ground. The upper door, now entirely blocked, appears to have been segmental-headed. Here, embedded horizontally in the wall, is a stout beam, 30 ins. long from east to west. If this was part of the rood-loft structure, it would indicate that the latter overhung at least 4 ft. forwards into the nave.

STANWELL.—Thomas Windesor, Esq., of Stanwell, by will dated August 13th, 1479, directed "that at my month's mind the candles burnt before the rood in the said church . . . be renewed and made at my expense."

Rev. J. H. Sperling noted, in 1853, evidences of the masonry having been mutilated to make way for the introduction of rood-stairs.

STEPNEY (St. Dunstan's).—An external rood-turret, rectagonal in plan, is attached to the south aisle. The top is embattled, and rises above the adjoining wall. There is a small quatrefoil on the south side to light the interior. The turret is built of flint, with ashlar quoins and coping. It appears to have been restored throughout in modern days, but that the ancient turret was of the same character and stood on the same site is proved by engravings of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1755 it had a sundial and gnomon on its southward face. The church internally has continuous arcades and no structural chancel-arch. In the south aisle wall, opposite to the fifth bay from the west end, are remains of the rood-stair, the lowest tread of which

is three feet above the floor level. It is entered through a plain stone doorway, 2 ft. 2 ins. wide by 6 ft. 11 ins. high to the crown of its four-centred arch. The rebated door-frame shows that the former door swung outwards into the church. The stairs, rising first from north to south, turn eastwards up to a mutilated stage beyond the seventh step, after which they emerge northward through a doorway of brick, 22 ins. wide by 5 ft. 10 ins. high to the crown of its four-centred arch. In the stone cill, holes have been sunk for iron stanchions. This, however, is not the original opening onto the loft, nor, of course, are the stairs in their original condition. There are traces of two older openings in the same part of the wall. The first, also four-centred, is entirely blocked, except that the lower part of it is cut into by the aforesaid brick doorway, than which its crown rears considerably higher. It appears to have emerged at a height of about 10 ft. 8 ins. above the floor. The other opening, further westwards, is partially blocked. Its upper portion is fitted with a wooden door. Its head is four-centred arched, and the cill level is 12 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. above the floor. From this point the rood-loft passage extended across the entire width of the church, 58 ft. 6 ins. First spanning the south aisle, it then passed under the south arcade, across the nave, to the north arcade, where, in the spandrel between the fifth and sixth arches from the west, is pierced a four-centred arched brick opening at a height of 14 ft. 9 ins. from the floor. To allow of the spandrel being made as wide as possible for the purpose, the supporting column is more massive than any of the others, a fact which proves that the arcade itself was planned expressly to provide for the rood-loft.

TOTTENHAM.—A polygonal rood-stair turret is attached to the outer wall of the south aisle, between the second and third windows eastward from the south porch. In old drawings of the years 1769 and 1793, the turret is

shown with a polygonal cone roof, the apex of which rose nearly to the eaves. This seems to have been curtailed in about 1830. One rectagonal window-slit remains, which formerly lit the stairs. The mediæval nave was four bays in length, but, by the subsequent eastward extension of the nave, the relative parts of the interior have become falsified, and the rood-stair, originally, of course, in line with the chancel gates, thrown out of position. In 1849 Rev. J. H. Sperling noted that "the third pillar from the east," in the south arcade, opposite to the rood-stair, had been "mutilated" to provide for the rood-loft passage, but all trace of this was obliterated in the thorough "restoration" which the church underwent in 1876-7. The entrance to the rood-stair in the south wall has been stopped and plastered over, and it is with difficulty that the four-centred arched doorway that issued onto the loft can be distinguished. Every vestige of mediæval screenwork has disappeared.

WEST DRAYTON.—The lower panels and portions of parclose-screens in both aisles of the nave existed in 1853, when Rev. J. H. Sperling wrote, but all traces have now vanished, for an "extensive restoration" took place in 1892. The lowest voussoir on each side of the chancel-arch having been renewed may imply that a timber rood-screen was once fitted into the arch, which has an opening of 13 ft. 8 ins. The rood must have been set up over the apex of the arch against the east wall of the nave. The latter is 16 ft. 9 ins. in width, which represents also the length of the former rood-loft. Inside the building there is no sign of rood-stairs, but the thickening of the north wall of the chancel, at the re-entering angle between the chancel and the nave's north aisle, seems to indicate the site of a demolished staircase.

WILLESDEN.—"In the south aisle . . . the lower panels of a parclose of the linen pattern," and, "in the

south pier" of the chancel, the "remains of the rood-stairs" were noted by Rev. J. H. Sperling in 1849, previously to the ordeals of "restoration" to which the building was subjected in 1852 and 1872. It must have been at one of these two dates that the linen-panelled screenwork was swept away, and the rood-stairs filled and the doorway cemented over, as it is at present (February, 1909). The entrance to the rood-stair was in the southward face of the south pier, and if, as is supposed, the egress was in the south-west corner of the chancel, the rood-loft must have been a wide one, stretching both eastwards and under the chancel-arch into the nave. The fact of the stair not being in the outer wall shows that the loft was not carried beyond the nave, across the south aisle, though it is probable enough that a screen, in range with the rood-screen, separated the south aisle of the nave from that of the chancel. That a parclose-screen once occupied the arch between the chancel and its south aisle is proved by the stone of the eastern respond capital having been cut away to insert timberwork, the space of which is now neatly filled with new stone, measuring 11 ins. high by 5 ins. wide at the bottom and 6 ins. wide at the top.

THE BATTLEFIELDS OF MIDDLESEX

By J. Charles Wall

SELDOM is the county of Middlesex considered as the site of momentous battles; all-engrossing commerce—centred in the capital county within its area—has extended its attendant roof-tree beyond the suburbs towards its utmost limits, creeping over spots once saturated by the life-blood of native and invader, and covering some of those places which were the scenes of even more saddening strife, where factions of the same nationality warred against their compatriots. Such is the case with the only recognised battlefield in the county, where the rivalry of the opposing rose-badges was virtually decided.

In some cases tradition alone marks the supposed site of warriors' contentions, and even earlier than those traditions it is possible that a scene of severe fighting may be suggested by that great barrier called "Grime's Dyke." This is a line of massive earthwork of vallum and fosse which partially remains in the north-western part of the county, fashioned in a manner to withstand inimical assaults from the south-east. This earthen wall would be manned by the Catuvellauni should a hostile tribe venture to pass across the marsh lands to raid the territory of that ancient people.

When the crossing of that great water-artery, the Thames, by Cæsar and his host is considered, we

are confronted by two traditions. The advocates of Halliford, at Cowey Stakes, as the place where the passage was made, strenuously oppose the claims of Brentford as the spot chosen by the imperial troops, and *vice-versâ*. At whichever point it may have been,

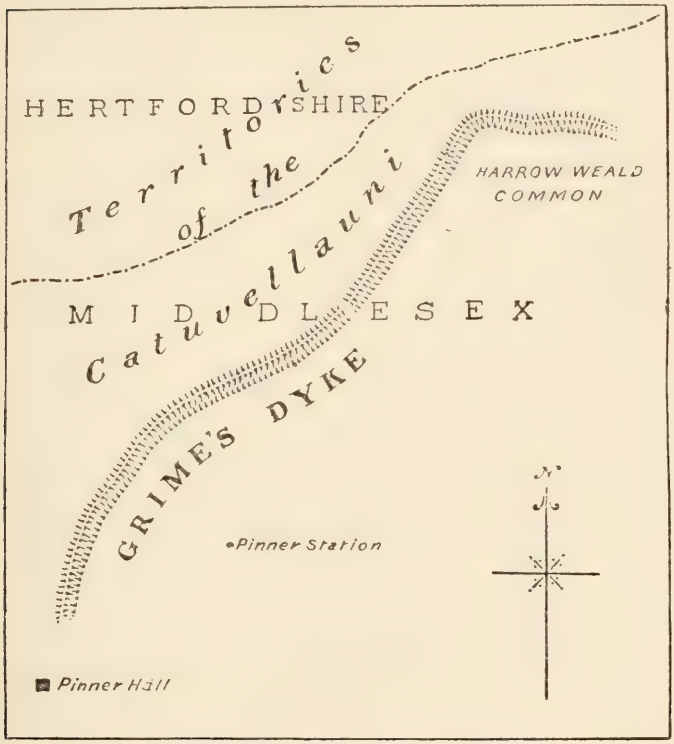


FIG. 12.—PLAN OF GRIME'S DYKE.

that was one of the earliest battle-grounds in Britain recorded on written page.

Cæsar[1] describes how the river Thames was fordable in one place only, and that with difficulty. When he reached the water's edge he saw a great number of

1 *Bell. Gall.*, v. 18.

Britons on the opposite, or northern, side ready to dispute his progress, and he found that they had defended the bank in front of them by sharpened stakes, whilst similar obstacles were fixed into the bed of the river beneath the water. Cæsar ordered the cavalry and foot soldiers to charge across this obstruction, and, although those on foot were immersed all but their heads in the water, their attack was so impetuous that the Britons were repulsed, and the Roman army entered the territory of Cassivellaunus.

Orosius says that nearly the whole ford under water was covered with the stakes, and Bede,[1] relying on the report of Nothelm, asserts that these stakes remained in his time, but fails our purpose in omitting all mention of the spot where the engagement took place.

At Halliford the stakes were in two rows across the river, as found in the eighteenth century, a protection to men and cattle fording the river, which in those days was affected by the tide at that place; but at Old Brentford—where Bishop Gibson (1695) says that the water at ebb tide was only three feet deep—numerous other stakes have been found ranged along the northern bank. A record of these remains has been made by Mr. Montague Sharpe, and this place appears to better answer the Roman's description.

It has been suggested that an irregularity in the ground, a short distance inland from the river, was the site of a camp of one of the combating forces, but it is not sufficiently distinct to warrant such assumption. Another small, square earthwork, 380 ft. on each side, with rounded corners, situated on the southern side of the Bath Road, in the parish of Harmondsworth, until its destruction in 1906, was said by Stukeley to have been the work of Cæsar's army, a tradition firmly believed by the inhabitants of that locality, one of whom

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1 *Hist. Eccl.*, 1, 2.

related that "it was made by Julia Cæsar for his soldiers before crossing Twickenham Ferry."

King's Cross, with the shrill whistle of a locomotive, or the clang of buffers, is far removed from the war-cry of the Britons or the clash of swords, yet the name of "Battle Bridge" survives as a place-name traditionally commemorating that decisive battle between Suetonius Paulinus and Boadicea. The Queen of the Iceni, smarting with the indignity of stripes ministered by a brutal invader and with humiliation of her daughters at the hands of lascivious intruders, had wrought a terrible vengeance in other districts, and here sought an encounter which proved disastrous to her cause.

Tacitus describes the battle,[1] the position chosen by the Roman general, the confidence of the Britons, the impassioned harangues of Boadicea and of Suetonius, and the utter rout of the former.

The Roman general is said to have had ten thousand troops, composed of the fourteenth legion, the veterans of the twentieth legion, and auxiliaries from the neighbourhood. With these he occupied a position approached by a narrow ravine, with the rear of the army enclosed by a wood. Thus placed, the Britons could approach from the front only, and that across an open plain with no cover, and upon which no ambuscade could be laid. The legionaries were drawn up in close order, and around them were the light armed troops, whilst compact bodies of cavalry were on the flanks.

At the far side of the plain the Britons stationed a line of wagons, in which their women-folk were placed to witness the confidently expected victory. Unlike the Romans, with their extraordinary discipline, the Britons egotistically displayed their forces, flying about in parties of foot and troops of horsed warriors, in greater numbers than the invaders had hitherto encountered.

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[1] *Anno.*, xiv., 34-37.

Boadicea, with her two daughters, drove amongst them in a chariot, exhorting each tribe to action in the defence of their aged and their women, neither of whom were safe from the passions of their foes, encouraging them to bravery, though led by a woman—a woman who sought a righteous revenge.

The speech of Suetonius gives us an insight of their mode of warfare; his men were to keep their ranks, and having first discharged their darts, they were to follow up the havoc and carnage with the pointed bosses of their shields and their swords. This was carried out, and the charge was made in the form of a wedge. They hesitated not in slaying the women and even the beasts harnessed to the wagons, so great was their lust for killing. The Britons were routed; their line of wagons obstructed their flight and led to greater slaughter.

That the so-called *barbarians* were no mean opponents is seen in the words of the Latin annalist, who describes the glory gained that day by the Romans as "indeed memorable and equal to the victories of ancient times."

The growth of streets has altered the contours of the ground; no longer may "narrow ravine" be distinguished. The wood in the rear of the Roman army has perished, and the river Fleet is lost. The older antiquaries looked upon the moat of Mountfort House as a relic of a Roman camp, and as evidence that this locality was the site of the battle, conclusively proven to their minds when, in 1680, a British spear-head and the skeleton of an elephant were found in Coldbath Fields; for Polybius records the use of elephants by the Romans in British warfare. More important than these relics, however, was the discovery of a fragment of a Roman inscription found in 1842, built into the wall of a cottage on the eastern side of the ancient trackway called Maiden Lane. It was part of a monument to the memory of an officer of the twentieth legion, which, as we have seen, was

included in the army of Suetonius at the overthrow of Boadicea's power.

Again giving ear to tradition, it is possible that the bowl-shaped tumulus in the near distance on Hampstead

FIG. 13.—RICHARD NEVILLE.

(*From the Warwick Roll, Heralds' College.*)

Heath, known as "Boadicea's Grave," is the burial-place of that unhappy queen, who, degraded and defeated, yet noble and heroic, in anguish ended her life by her own

hand. It is a site such as was chosen by the Britons for their departed chieftains, on high ground overlooking the field of battle, an exalted position to be seen of the people, and to inspire them to deeds of daring bravery.

King Edmund Ironside, in his pursuit of the Danes, carries us back to Brentford. On two occasions in the year 1016 he fought the Northmen at this place; but it would appear from the *Saxon Chronicle* that he first crossed the Thames, and that the battles were on the south of the river and not in Middlesex.

No battle in the county is so well known to history as that fought at Barnet, where heraldic emblazonry, suspicion, and the elements united in the discomfiture of the Lancastrians and the placing of the Yorkist dynasty on the throne.

The decisive battle of Barnet was for the most part fought on a tract of ground which, by some strange freak, is included in the county of Middlesex.

The fact of the humiliated Earl of Warwick, Richard Neville, changing his allegiance from the thankless youth whom he had been instrumental in raising to the throne, to the rival House of Lancaster, must have injured his marvellous influence over the innumerable adherents of the House of Warwick. With all loyalty to their feudal lord, their admired leader, uncertainty and doubt militated against so sudden and complete a transfer of support in a multitude as was possible in one man. The suspicions generated in the minds of ardent Lancastrians against those but recently their foes, who now joined their cause, was the real factor in determining the victory.

Edward of York had eluded those forces designed to thwart his progress to London, and he had received the support of the citizens before he again turned towards the north to meet his fate in battle.

Warwick marched south through Dunstable and St. Albans, impatient for the support of his levies from

the north and the west, and encamped his troops, fatigued and footsore, on Gladsmoor Heath, high ground situated to the north-west of Monken Hadley church.

The wearied army had not for long lain in rest when the alarm was raised that Edward had driven in Warwick's scouts from the town below. In the prevailing fog Edward camped on the heath, near the church, much nearer the enemy than either army was aware, and we are told the latter "took not his ground so even in the front as he should have done if he might better have seen them (the Lancastrians)."

Both armies had guns and ordnance. Warwick's artillery was worked almost throughout the night, pointed in the direction by which Edward was known to have approached, but the flashing of the powder betrayed the exact position of the hostile host to Edward, who was in such close proximity that the shot passed over the ranks of his army, whilst the Yorkists kept perfect quiet, so as not to reveal their position until the morning.

Thus passed Easter Eve, and on the morn of Easter Day, April 14th, 1471, a festival of peace was turned to a day of strife. The nearness of the two armies precluded retreat, although the density of the fog veiled the martial array of each from the other. This had caused a similar mistake on both sides, each army outflanking the left wing of the other, and leaving the right wing of their enemies unopposed; thus Richard, Earl of Gloucester—a youth of eighteen years, so skilled in arms that his brother Edward reposed implicit trust in him—who commanded the right wing of the Yorkist faction, overlapped the left wing of the Lancastrians, which was composed of Warwick's midland retainers, and led by that earl and the Marquis of Exeter; while Lord Montague and the Earl of Oxford, with the men of the north and east forming the right wing of the Lancastrians, outflanked the left wing of Edward under

Lord Hastings. Edward, taking his wavering brother Clarence and his troops under his own charge, led the centre of the Yorkists, and Somerset, with his billmen and archers from the West Country, composed the centre of the Red Rose forces, positions more easily understood by the accompanying sketch-plan than by verbal explanations.

FIG. 14.—SKETCH-PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BARNET.

Before five o'clock the armies met, and before long that wing under Hastings was broken; his men were chased down the hill and pursued through Barnet town by Oxford. Now was the fog the saving of Edward, for the rest of his army failed to observe the rout of their fellows, "no man (among the Yorkists) was in anything discouraged, because, saving a few that stood nearest to them, no man wist of the rout; also the other party, by the same flight and chase, were never the greatlier encouraged." In addition to this, Oxford was for a time lost in the mist, and when he did regain the field it was to inspire panic in the troops of his own party.

Those men of the Lancastrian right wing retained from the pursuit of Montague were led by him to the

support of his brother Warwick, who, with the whole of his left wing, was being pressed on to his centre by the outflanking of the Earl of Gloucester.

Meanwhile, Edward was gaining the advantage over Somerset. We are told that he "beat and bare down all that stood in his way, and then turned to range, first on that hand and then on the other hand, and in length so beat and bare them down that nothing might stand in the sight of him and of the well-assured fellowship that attended truly upon him." The result of this advantage was, however, as yet undecided when the whole tide of battle was turned in his favour by the agency of the fog.

Oxford, we have seen, had pursued the Yorkist left wing into Barnet, and when he attempted to regain the field of battle by following the clashing sound of arms —for of view there was none—he unknowingly made a wide detour around the eastern side of the hill, and instead of taking Edward in the rear, he found himself upon the left rear of the Lancastrian centre.

The cognisance of the De Veres of Oxford was a Star Radiant, and this, bearing some resemblance to the Sun in Splendour of Edward, was—in the mist—mistaken for it. Somerset supposed himself to be outflanked by Edward, the Lancastrian central reserve received them with a volley of shafts, and Warwick's men, hard beset by Gloucester, turned their weapons upon them.

The suspicions of Oxford, and of the old supporters of the Red Rose, were apparently confirmed; Warwick had changed his allegiance, so also had the perjured Clarence, and when death was dealt by the hands of their comrades, it is small wonder that it was thought to be a traitrous design. The cry of "Treason" was raised by Oxford's troops, who fled with their leader towards the north. "Treason" was re-echoed by Somerset's centre; they gave way before the vigorous assault of Edward, and also fled; Lancastrians turned their arms

on Warwick's own detachment, Exeter was slain, and Montague fell by the hands of those he led.

The field was thus given to Edward. Warwick saw that all was lost; Montague and Exeter were dead, Oxford and Somerset had fled, he alone remained of the leaders of his faction.

Warwick had fought on foot from the beginning of

FIG. 15.—TRADITIONARY SITE OF WARWICK'S DEATH.

the battle, and now, encumbered by his heavy armour, he withdrew, still wielding his sword, towards Wrotham Wood. At the edge of that forest, with his back against a tree, he was surrounded by the enemy, and yielded his life.

The dead trunk of an aged elm, garnished by the tenacious embrace of living ivy, remains as a finger-post

of history. At the roots of this tree it is traditionally said that the powerful warrior, statesman, and administrator, the "King-maker," fell in his forty-fourth year.

At the junction of the Hatfield and St. Albans roads is an obelisk, erected by Sir Jeremy Sambrook, to commemorate this battle.

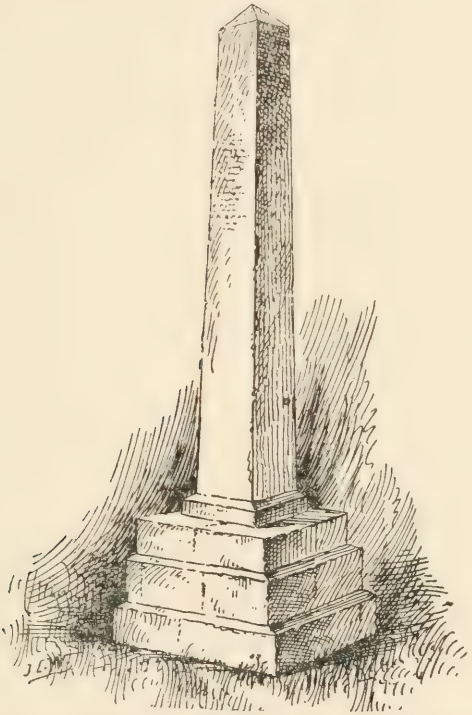

FIG. 16.—MONUMENT ON THE FIELD OF BARNET.

One literary fragment directly bearing on the battle of Barnet is in the possession of the Duke of Rutland. It is a letter to Henry Vernon, of Derbyshire, dated March 25th, asking for reinforcements, with a postscript urging the same in Warwick's handwriting: "Henry, I pray you ffayle me not now, as ever I may do for you" —an appeal which Vernon ignored.

Contemporary historians were not, and the biased annals of Hall, Holinshed, and Fabyan must not be received too literally; while Habington,[1] as a creature of Edward, is untrustworthy.

An imaginary illustration of the battle of Barnet forms the subject of a miniature in a manuscript report of the final scenes which secured the crown to the House of York, written by a follower of Edward IV., and preserved in the library at Ghent. The two armies in panoply of mail are engaged in close combat; the host of Edward is distinguished by a banner bearing a golden rose on a red field, but the army of Warwick was apparently thought unworthy of a badge by the fifteenth century limner. Although at the time there were two kings who were yet neither of them kings, Edward is represented with a golden coronet around his helmet, seated upon a charger caparisoned with red drapery lined with blue and powdered with fleurs-de-lys; he holds his lance in rest, with which he has pierced the breast of a mounted antagonist, probably intended for Warwick. The composition, whilst wholly imaginary, is full of life and vigour.

Nearly two centuries elapse when again the scene of warfare returns to Brentford, and again it is civil war.

The conflict between King Charles and the Parliament led to open hostilities, commencing with engagements at Worcester and Edgehill. The King then made the loyal city of Oxford his headquarters, and thence determined to march on London. The great western road passes through Reading and Brentford; the former town was seized, and when he drew nigh to the latter village a detachment of Parliamentarian troops was encountered. After a sharp fight, the latter were defeated, and the King took possession of the place. It was an occasion which originated the title of "Earl of Brentford,"

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[1] *Life of Edward IV.*

bestowed on Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth, in acknowledgment of his doughty deeds. This engagement took place on November 12th, and on the following day the King was proceeding towards London, when his progress was checked at Turnham Green. There his scouts found Essex with a greatly superior number of men-at-arms, and the Royalists fell back on Oxford without fighting.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Essex, the commander-in-chief of the Parliamentarian forces, was at Warwick. By hasty marches he reached London, where his troops were augmented by the city train-bands, under the command of Major-General Skippon. This leader knew the temperament of his men, and encouraged them accordingly in words to this purpose:

> Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us.

The good wives, anxious for the welfare of their citizen soldiers, packed many cart-loads of provisions and wine, which accompanied them westwards so far as Turnham Green, where they made merry with feasting, which, we are told, they more greatly enjoyed when they heard the King had retreated and there was no prospect of fighting.

A body of the Royal troops was stationed at Brentford, and this neighbourhood was the scene of several skirmishes with the Parliamentarian soldiers who were quartered at Hounslow. A circular depression in the ground, 200 ft. in diameter, quite close to the cemetery and the railway, may possibly be due to the camping of these forces.

It will thus be seen that in various ages Brentford has been the scene of more frequent, if not so notable, feats of arms than any other district in Middlesex, and it is the want of geographical detail that leaves Barnet

the only distinguished battlefield in the county. Had the equally momentous conflict between Suetonius and Boadicea been on the traditionary site, the battlefield of A.D. 61—which eclipsed that of 1471 in the magnitude of its national importance—would considerably add to the interest of the county records.

HOLLAND HOUSE

By the Earl of Ilchester

THE melancholy predictions of Macaulay concerning the fate of Holland House are fortunately still unrealised. The old house as yet stands in its own grounds facing High Street, Kensington, and the roar of the ever-increasing traffic is nothing more than the distant sound of the sea breaking upon a shingly beach. Part, indeed, of the ancient manor has been absorbed by the builder, for houses and flats cover ground which but a century ago was green fields. But enough is yet untouched to preserve the character of the old surroundings as they were in days gone by. *Rus in urbe* is an apt description still, and may it be possible to retain it as such, notwithstanding the forecasts of drastic methods of taxation, which are fraught with serious danger to the acres that remain. With the fabric time has dealt hardly, it is true. The stone is seared and crumbling from the fumes of the heavily-laden atmosphere of the Metropolis. But the brickwork remains intact, and judicious restorations from time to time have retained the original features of the building as they were in the time of Sir Walter Cope and his architect, John Thorpe. There let it stand as a memorial to future generations of those men of renown in statecraft, literature, and philosophy, who have been wont to foregather under its hospitable roof; and let the prophecy of Hookham Frere, scratched on the pane of his dressing-room window, prove true:

> May neither Time destroy, nor waste impair,
> Nor fire consume thee till the twentieth Heir,
> May Taste respect thee, and may Fashion spare.

The mansion dates back to the reign of James I. In 1610 Sir Walter Cope, a favourite of James I., and one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, purchased the manor of Earl's Court from the Argyll family. He had in the previous reign purchased the manor of West Town, and been granted that of Abbots Kensington—the Chenesiton of the Domesday Book—by Queen Elizabeth. It is in this latter manor that the present house and grounds are situated. Included in the manor of West Town, however, which was purchased in 1591 from Christopher Barker, and originally belonged to the De Veres, was that part of the property formerly known as "The Moats."[1] This portion of the estate was sold by the late Lady Holland, and though it remained practically untouched until quite recently, it has now become the site of blocks of flats known as Oakwood Court. Near this was said to stand the original manor house, "The ould house at Kensyngton," of old deeds, in its own gardens. The actual site is not known, and no mention of it is made in Sir Walter's will, though a detailed account of the property is attached. It seems probable, therefore, that it was pulled down before the date of his death.

Sir Walter Cope needed, however, a more ambitious residence in which to enjoy his newly acquired property. A new mansion, called Cope Castle, the centre block and turrets of the present house, was finished in 1607. Perhaps it was commenced in 1605; that it was inhabited in 1606 is certain. Dudley Carleton, writing to John Chamberlayn on May 11th, 1606, says: "Lady Norris is at Cope Castle separated from her husband." And again Chamberlayn writes to Carléton, July 7th, 1608: "Went with Lady Fanshawe and the company to visit Cope Castle. Sir Walter Cope grows more and more into the great lord." In 1612, when Henry, Prince of

1 Faulkner's *History of Kensington.*

Wales, was on his death-bed, the King came to Sir Walter Cope's to be nearer him than he was at Theobalds', but he did not like the house. "The wind," he said, "blew through the walls, and he could not be warm in his bed."[1]

Some difficulty still arises as to the architect employed in the erection of the mansion. It has always been held that John Thorpe was responsible for the plan of the original block, and that the wings and arcades were built some twenty years later from designs of Inigo Jones. It appears, however, that this theory is only partially correct. The whole question is complicated by the probability that there were two Thorpes, father and son, between whom it is not possible to distinguish. In Thorpe's book of drawings, bought from the Warwick family by Sir John Soane, and now preserved in his museum, is a sketch of Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire. The first stone of this was laid in 1570; yet Canons, "My Lady Lake's house," was claimed to be his work. Sir Thomas Lake died in 1630, and his widow in 1642, so the house must have been built between these dates. The improbability that at least sixty years should have elapsed between the earliest and latest productions of one individual, favours the suggestion that there were two separate men. From the book of drawings it is clear that one of them had some hand in Kirby Hall, Longford Castle, Cope Castle, Burghley, etc., and it is believed that he also superintended the alterations which took place at Bramshill.

The supreme interest of the ground-plan of Cope Castle preserved at the Soane Museum lies in the fact that it is drawn in two different coloured inks (fig. 17). The centre of the house, comprising the main portion and the towers, appears in black ink, while the wings, terraces, and arcades are in brown. Certain alterations to the

[1] *London, Past and Present.*

original building appear in the latter colour, and written below in the same is: "Sir Walter Coap at Kensington, prfected pr me. J. T." This is very important, and was completely overlooked by Horace Walpole, who, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, copies it *erected*. The real word, *perfected*, makes it clear that, whoever was the architect

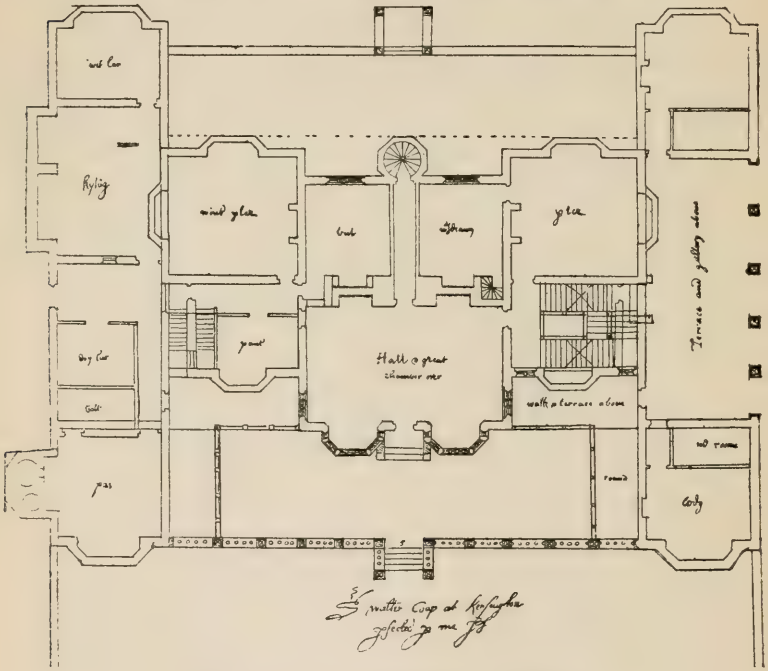


FIG. 17.—PLAN OF HOLLAND HOUSE.

From a drawing in the Sir John Soane Museum.)

of the earlier structure, Thorpe at least built the additions. It is also evident that they must have been built, or at least planned, before Sir Walter's death in 1614, otherwise Thorpe could not have referred to it as his house. Thorpe is known to have based much of his work on Dutch models, and to have closely followed De Vries. Columns are shown in the latter's book, dated

Holland House: East Front.

1577, which are almost the exact model of the pilasters and the arcades, and of the stonework forming part of the decoration of the walls. On the whole, therefore, it is probable that, though Thorpe may perhaps not have been the architect of the entire building, he certainly was of the later additions; that the earlier part was built in 1605-7, the later before 1614; and that the drawing is a rough original plan, which was altered in several points while the building was in progress, viz., a difference in the number of arches shown in the plan to those actually in existence, the position of the wings with reference to the main block of the house, and the arrangement of certain fireplaces. None of the alterations, however, are material to the whole scheme. They seem to dispose of the theory that the book of drawings is only notes of houses Thorpe had visited, and is not the production of his own inventive mind.

The original portion contained, on the south side, a staircase and two rooms, of which the largest was the hall (with the "Great Chamber" above); and on the north, two parlours, a withdrawing-room, and a buttery. Two stories above completed the building, with the addition of the attics and the basement below. The house was built of red brick, the mullions of the windows, the various ornaments, and the coping being of Bath stone. On the north side, in Thorpe's plan, is shown an octagonal projection from the centre of the building, containing a turret staircase. This has disappeared, though traces remain of alterations; but in the same position on the south side is a curiously carved and ornamented stone porch, probably erected, according to Faulkner, by the Earl of Holland. This is of similar shape to that in Thorpe's plan, but is not shown in it. It rises to the level of the top of the second floor, and is now surmounted by a slated cupola.

The two wings consisted of a succession of narrow rooms, that on the west consisting of larders and kitchens, with a long room (now the library) above. This seems to have been originally lighted by a succession of windows on each side; but they have been closed up, and a bow window has been thrown out on one side. With these additions the whole should have formed a perfect letter "H." The plans, however, appear to have been modified, for the projections on the north side are considerably less than those on the south, and the wings seem to have been moved bodily in the latter direction. They are flanked on the south with arcades and terraces, and probably remain much as they were when originally erected. These arcades consist of open arches, supporting terraces on the level of the rooms on the first floor. They are coated with lead, and have stone balconies of fleurs-de-lis, part of the arms of the Cope family. A balustrade of fretwork design, of the same date, connected the ends of the wings; but the portion under the arcade on each side has been removed, and it now only reaches as far as the columns. The eastern arcade was enclosed as a conservatory in 1797, but the change was found to detract from the picturesque appearance of the south front, and the arches were re-opened by the late Lord Holland.

At some period subsequent to Thorpe's designs, a chapel was added to the north-east corner of the house. The date of its erection is, however, uncertain. It abutted upon the room now known as the "White Parlour," and a curiously shaped recess at the east end of the room served the purpose of a private gallery for the use of the family when at their devotions. The chapel, which was the scene of several marriages of various members of the family, was, on Princess Liechtenstein's authority, destroyed by fire. Remains of it, a frieze and two pilasters, still exist in the rooms adjoining the present entrance hall, and the traces of

an arch can be discerned on the brickwork of that corner of the house.

The other three sides of the house are less rich in ornament than the south side, though throughout the character of the architecture is the same. It is essentially of the style in vogue in the early part of the reign of James I., and later alterations have been carried out on the same lines.

At Sir Walter Cope's death in 1614, the property passed into the hands of his daughter and sole heiress, Isabella. She had married Sir Henry Rich, who was created Baron Kensington in 1622, and Earl of Holland two years later. He was the second son of Robert Rich, first Earl of Warwick, and Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and great-grandson of Lord Chancellor Rich, who, under Henry VIII., had purchased his preferment at the price of Sir Thomas More's death. He was a favourite of the Duke of Buckingham, who introduced him to the Cope family.

Whatever alterations to the exterior of the house Lord Holland may have initiated, it is certain that he employed various men of note to beautify the grounds and to decorate the interior of the rooms. The gate piers, which now stand near the north-east corner of the house overlooking the approach to the front door, were executed by his orders in 1629, from designs of Inigo Jones, by Nicholas Stone. They were intended "to hang a pair of great wooden gates," and cost £100. The piers were later removed from their original position, which is now forgotten, and were placed at a distance from one another on the south side of the house, at opposite ends of the sweeping drive which led to the front entrance. They were again removed in 1850 by the late Lord Holland when he altered the position of the front hall, and were then placed where they now stand.

The decoration of the "Great Chamber," on the first floor (now known as the Gilt Room), was entrusted to

Francis Cleyn, a native of Rostock. He settled in this country, and was retained by Charles I. as designer for the new factory of tapestry at Mortlake, which the King had founded. The room is panelled throughout, and is painted with the arms of the Rich and Cope families. Above the two fireplaces are emblematic female figures, below which are small medallions containing heads of Charles I. and Sully, and Queen Henrietta Maria and Henri Quatre. These were retouched by the late Mr. G. F. Watts, who also added the small oblong plaques between them to replace small copies of the *Nozze Aldobrandini* which had disappeared. A reproduction of the decoration of this room was published, in 1838, by C. J. Richardson in his *Architectural Remains of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*, together with a drawing of "The Ancient Parlour" (the White Parlour), and views of the south and east fronts. The ceiling, which, it is related, was also painted by Cleyn in grotesque, unfortunately fell down during the minority of the third Lord Holland. The present ceiling is a copy of one, of the Jacobean period, at Melbury, representing the various signs of the Zodiac.

Besides the design of this room, Cleyn is probably responsible for two shell-back arm-chairs, which now stand on the staircase, and for a boldly carved gilt and white pedestal, decorated with acorns and acanthus and oak leaves.

Among other portions of decoration in the house which may be attributed to this period are the main staircase, the panelling in the White Parlour, attributed by some to Inigo Jones, and a stone fireplace in the China Room.

Van Dyk is said to have been an inmate of the house for two years, and to have painted many portraits while living under its roof. Sir James Mackintosh is mainly responsible for this statement, which is not upheld by recently published biographies of the painter.

HOLLAND HOUSE: SOUTH FRONT.

Henry, Earl of Holland, combined with an artistic temperament a handsome presence and a courtly manner. He was a favourite with Charles I., but it is related that the attention shown him by the Queen raised jealous feelings in the King's heart. Be this as it may, his loyalty wavered. After Lord Northumberland's appointment as Lord High Admiral in 1637, a post he ardently coveted, he retired to Holland House in disgust, and his subsequent cold reception by Charles at Oxford effectually alienated his affections from his Royal master. He then joined the disaffected Parliamentarians, and Holland House became a rendezvous for their leaders. But his true sympathies were evidently with his Sovereign, for in 1647 he reunited himself to the Royalist cause, a step which proved fatal to him, for after "confinement at his house in Kensyngton," he was brought to trial before the High Court by his former companions in arms and condemned to death. The sentence was carried out on March 9th, 1649. His headless body is said to revisit the scenes of his former triumphs, and to walk at night through the room he so magnificently decorated; but with lapse of years his spirit seems laid to rest.

Two months after his death Holland House became the headquarters of General Fairfax, and it is related that Ireton and Cromwell met in a field there to discuss important matters out of the hearing of prying ears—a difficult matter owing to the deafness of the former. It was not long, however, before the property was restored to its widowed owner, who lived there with her family until her death. During the Civil Wars theatres were closed by the fanatical Puritans, and any representations which took place were held secretly in the large private houses near London. Holland House was one of these, and many were the performances held there by the invitation of its mistress throughout those years. She, too, seems to have made some alterations to the house, for a stone was dug up near the old stables

in 1806 bearing the inscription: "This side done by y^e La. Holland, A.D. 1654."

Upon her death in 1655, Robert, second Earl of Holland, made it his chief residence. He also succeeded his cousin in 1673 as Earl of Warwick, but died two years later. The next heir was the eldest son of his second marriage, Edward, who married Charlotte, only daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk. Lord Holland and Warwick died in 1701, and fifteen years later his widow married Joseph Addison. The story that he was at the time tutor to her son can only be a fabrication, for the latter was but a child at his father's death, and Addison, between 1704 and 1710, held offices in the Government entirely incompatible with such a position. The marriage was not a happy one. "Holland House, altho' a large house, could not contain Mr. Addison, the Countess of Warwick, and one guest, Peace." Though successful beyond his dreams as a writer and as a politician, domestic bliss was not his lot. He died in 1719 of asthma and dropsy in the room on the first floor which now bears his name, conjuring his stepson to live like a Christian. A picture, said to be that of Addison, is preserved in the house, and was made use of by Westmacott for his memorial in Westminster Abbey. It also appears in Leslie's picture of the Holland House library; but arising out of this a heated discussion took place in *Notes and Queries* of 1858, into which it would be out of place to enter here. It was claimed by the representative of the Fountaine family (of Narford) to be a portrait of his ancestor, Sir Andrew; but its credentials on the other side appear satisfactory, and it was found impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion.

The young lord was not given much time in this world to practise Addison's parting injunctions, for he died in 1721. The property then devolved on his first cousin, William Edwardes (created Baron Kensington in 1776),

son of Lady Elizabeth Rich and Francis Edwardes, of Haverfordwest; while the titles were assumed by a more distant cousin, a descendant of the youngest son of the first Earl of Holland. At his death in 1759 the honours became extinct.

Holland House appears to have been let at different times during its occupation by the Rich family, probably in separate suites of apartments. Various men of interest thus resided for short periods in the old mansion. For a list of these we are indebted to Sir James Mackintosh in an unfinished history of the house, which is preserved among the manuscripts, and has been more than once quoted in this article. First, chronologically, seems to have been Sir John Chardin, the Persian traveller, whose daughter, Elizabeth, was born there on September 19th, 1685.[1] After him, William Penn was an inmate of the house for a time. In 1689 it narrowly escaped conversion into a Royal Palace. William III. inspected it with a view to purchase for that purpose, but preferred Nottingham House (now Kensington Palace), for what reason is not stated, and chose it in lieu of Lord Holland and Warwick's property.

After Lord Holland and Warwick's death in 1721, Holland House was inhabited for a time by Mrs. Morice, the daughter of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and many of her letters to her exiled father in Paris are dated from there. To this period also dates the association of Shippen with the house. Lechmere, the Whig lawyer, who, curiously to relate, was one of the leaders of the prosecution of Sacheverell and Atterbury, and who was raised to the peerage in 1721, was subsequently a resident and died there in 1727. He was assessed for the poor rates there in 1724.

In 1746 Henry Fox took a long lease on lives of it from Mr. Edwardes for the sum of £182 16s. 9d.,

1 Kensington Parish Register.

and in 1767 completed the purchase by special Act of Parliament. The author of *A Tour through England*, in 1748, gives a description of the house at that time. He mentions that it "had long since been decaying," and says:

> It seems that this famous old house, the residence of the Earls of Warwick, was deserted; but the present possessor has restored it, repaired and beautified it, embellished the gardens, enclosed the park, and made a coach-road into Acton Road, and a coach-way through his own grounds from the turnpike to the house. He is daily improving the delightful situation.

Henry Fox, afterwards created Baron Holland, was the youngest son of Sir Stephen Fox by his second wife, Christian Hope. His father was a native of Wiltshire, and was born in 1627. He obtained Court favour through the patronage of Henry, Lord Percy. As a page he was present on the scaffold at the execution of the King, and afterwards followed the fortunes of Charles II. while in exile. Soon after the Restoration he was appointed Paymaster-of-the-Forces, and was knighted in 1665. He is, however, best known as the originator of the scheme for the erection of Chelsea Hospital, to which he gave large sums of money. None of a large family by his first wife survived him, and of his two sons by his second marriage, the eldest, Stephen, was created Earl of Ilchester.

It is with the younger, Henry, however, that we are concerned. He was born in 1705, and entered the House of Commons in 1735 as a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole. He held several high offices of state, was appointed Paymaster in 1757, and was raised to the Peerage in 1763 as Baron Holland of Foxley, co. Wilts., the year after his wife had been created a peeress in her own right. He had been fortunate in his matrimonial affairs. The union was the old story of a romantic attachment which overstepped all obstacles. Against the wishes of her parents Fox secretly married, in 1744, at

the house of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, Lady Caroline Lennox, eldest daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond, and it was some years before the young couple were forgiven for their disobedience. Lady Holland only lived twenty-three days after her husband's death. Three sons were the surviving offspring of this alliance—Stephen, Charles James, the great statesman, and Henry Edward, who became a general in the British Army. Stephen succeeded his father in the title on his death at Holland House in 1774, but only survived him by three months. He had married, in 1766, Lady Mary Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, first Earl of Upper Ossory, and by her (who died in 1778) left a daughter and one son, a child of thirteen months, Henry Richard.

Charles James Fox was born in Conduit Street, and not in Kensington, but much of his early life was spent at Holland House. He was painted by Reynolds in 1761 with his cousin, Lady Susan Fox-Strangways, and his aunt, Lady Sarah Lennox, in the celebrated portrait group. The original sketch, which stands by the side of the picture, testifies to the genius of the painter in grasping the best features and omitting the weakest points of his first impression. Fox's appearance in the picture is far beyond his years, and gives a forecast of that transcendent genius which was to astonish the world in later life. All three were close friends, and were much together at his father's house. Lady Sarah for some time lived there altogether with her sister, Lady Holland, who was many years her senior. Horace Walpole relates how she "appeared every morning in a field close to the great road, where the King (George III.) passed on horseback, in a fancied habit making hay." Indeed, a contemporary mezzotint, the rarity of which is due to the fact that every available impression was bought up and destroyed, recalls the fact that, had she so wished it, she might have been Queen of England.

After their mother's death the third Lord Holland and his sisters were educated and cared for by various members of the family. During Lord Holland's minority the house was let to Lord Rosebery and to Mr. Bearcroft, and the land to various persons. He went abroad in 1792 at the age of nineteen, and two years later, in Florence, met Lady Webster, daughter of Richard Vassall, of Jamaica, and the wife of Sir Godfrey Webster, of Battle Abbey. A mutual friendship ripened into love, and after a divorce had taken place, Lord Holland married her in July, 1797.

They took up their residence at Holland House the same year, and from this period dates the commencement of those gatherings of statesmen and wits, of writers and scientists, of diplomats and foreigners, which gained for the old house its world-wide reputation. It would not come within the scope of this article to enlarge at any length on the names of the distinguished guests who were wont to partake of Lord and Lady Holland's lavish hospitality. Suffice it to mention some few who were among their most celebrated visitors. In early years especially there was but little female society in that circle. A few of her early friends, the Duchess of Devonshire and others, remained true to her after the scandal of the divorce, and all Lord Holland's relations visited her. As time went on, however, circumstances changed, but the male sex were always the predominant feature in her assemblies. Oh that the walls could but recount the countless arguments and dissertations which took place within them! A record would then be unfolded to our ears probably unrivalled in the pages of history. Charles James Fox and Canning, Sheridan and Tierney, Horner and Lauderdale, Grey and Melbourne, are but a few of the more eminent politicians; while Moore, Luttrell, Byron, Frere, Fitzpatrick, Talleyrand, Rogers, and Lucien Bonaparte are but a fraction, chosen at random, of those

HOLLAND HOUSE: NORTH FRONT.

whose names would fill pages if anything resembling a complete list were to be attempted extending over that period of forty years.

The host and hostess, too, were fully capable of holding their own with this motley throng of genius and wit. Lord Holland, though a martyr to many of those infirmities to which mortal flesh is subject, had ever a genial smile with which to welcome the new-comer. His fund of anecdote was inexhaustible, and his mind was stored with an abundance of information upon every subject of interest. His wife's hold on the affections of her circle was of a different nature. The versatility of her talents in conversation and repartee, combined with her striking beauty, was in truth a source of undoubted attraction to her friends and associates. But her sway over them was of an arbitrary nature. Always prone to command, her character became outwardly more domineering with the advance of years, and it is sometimes difficult to understand how her guests were content to endure the stinging lash of her tongue and could return the next day as if nothing had occurred. Yet so it was, and to the end of their lives an invitation to the Holland House gatherings was a thing to be prized and envied. Beneath that unbending exterior, however, lurked a kindly heart, and many were the recipients of her bounty, both among her dependents and among those who had no claim to succour at her hands.

A more humble individual must not be forgotten who during this period contributed in no small degree to the high standard of that literary society—Dr. John Allen. He was originally engaged by Lord Holland in 1802 to travel as physician with the family in Spain, but he made himself so generally useful that on their return he was installed at Holland House as librarian. A comfortable sitting-room on the ground floor still bears his name. Numerous articles in the contemporary reviews of the time are the product of his pen, and the assistance

of his profound knowledge on every conceivable subject was eagerly sought by the Whig leaders who frequented Holland House.

Lord Holland died in 1840, and his widow removed to 33, South Street. She died there five years later. Their eldest son, Charles Fox (afterwards General Fox), was illegitimate, having been born before his parents' marriage. The titles and property therefore devolved on the next surviving son, Henry Edward, who was born in 1802.

Few changes in the house can be traced to the third Lord Holland's lifetime. It is known from various letters that the whole structure was in a very bad state about the end of the eighteenth century. Faulkner states that the whole house was repaired and refurnished under the direction of Mr. Saunders in 1796, and also mentions that portions of the balustrade on the south front were satisfactorily put in order in 1814 with Parker's cement. Serious cracks began to appear in the walls of the west front in 1803, which entailed extensive structural restoration. These works seem to have been superintended by Bonaiuti, an Italian, who continued to keep a watchful eye on the fabric after that date.

Henry Edward, fourth Lord Holland, married, in 1833, Lady Mary Augusta Coventry, daughter of the eighth Earl of Coventry. He was for some years Minister in Florence, and continued to reside there after his official connection with the place had ceased. On their return from Italy in 1848, comprehensive alterations to the house and grounds were undertaken, and were completed two years later. The front approach to the house was diverted to the east side, and the terrace on the south was thrown up with the earth thus excavated. The series of arches supporting the east front were enclosed, forming an entrance hall, from which a new flight of stairs leads up to join the main staircase. The Inigo Jones gates were moved to their present position

at the north-east angle of the house. The western wing of Thorpe's structure, which up to that time had been used as store-rooms, etc., was then entirely remodelled. The apartments were converted into a suite of sitting-rooms, now known as the "West Rooms." The further one of these, with a flight of steps leading into the Dutch garden, was thrown out at this period, and alterations were made to the bedrooms adjoining and the Inner Library above. Various schemes of redecoration in the house were also carried out, and in these Lord Holland was largely assisted by the exquisite taste and still more admirable execution of the late Mr. G. F. Watts. Numberless pictures and drawings by his hand attract attention to their friendship, the commencement of which dates back to 1843 in Florence.

Lord Holland died in 1859, leaving no children, and the house then passed to his widow, who also came into the possession of St. Anne's Hill at Chertsey, and a palace at Naples, in which Lord Holland's death took place. It was her custom to reside at Holland House for two or three months every year, and those afternoon gatherings which took place under her auspices were fully in keeping with the high level of similar entertainments earlier in the century. Some years before her death she handed over the property to the late Lord Ilchester, the representative of the elder branch of the Fox family, and an arrangement was made at the same time that when her death took place the house and its contents should also pass into his hands. Lord Ilchester restored the stonework on the north and east fronts during her lifetime, but it was not till 1890 (Lady Holland had died the previous year) that the south front and balustrades were again placed in good repair. Ketton stone was mainly used to repair the ravages which time and smoke had wrought on the original Bath stone. At the same time, under the supervision of Colonel Edis, the interior arrangements of the house

were brought up to date, the basement remodelled, and a new room added to the west rooms. This room has been used as a ballroom, and is called the "Swannery," from the large picture of the swans at Abbotsbury, by the late Mr. Bouverie Goddard, which is inserted in the panelling over the fireplace.

It may now be interesting to note shortly the changes which the grounds and gardens have undergone. The portion of Sir Walter Cope's three manors, referred to earlier in this article, which here comes under consideration, is that bounded on the north by the Uxbridge Road, on the south by High Street, Kensington, on the east by Holland Walk, and on the west by the West London Railway. In a *Survey* of the manors in 1694-5 by Edward Bostock, the main approach to the house is represented as being flanked by an avenue of trees, which were continued without break down Earl's Court Road. The drawing is evidently faulty in some respects, for this drive is shown opposite the centre of the house instead of skirting the eastern edge of the property, as was actually the case. Some buildings are shown near "The Moats," and also those which were transformed into a residence for Miss Fox, the third Lord Holland's sister, in the early years of the nineteenth century. "Little Holland House" and its grounds were removed as recently as 1875 to make way for the present Melbury Road, and the building stood practically on the same site as the late Mr. Colin Hunter's house.

John Rocque's *Survey* of 1741-5 gives much the same idea of the property. In his map, however, the main avenue is represented in its proper place, and a series of trees on the north of the house is shown radiating in all directions from a circular plot of ground. Some traces of these avenues still remain. An interesting series of maps, dated July, 1766, preserved in the Kensington Public Library, gives an exactly similar view of the locality.

HOLLAND HOUSE: WEST FRONT.

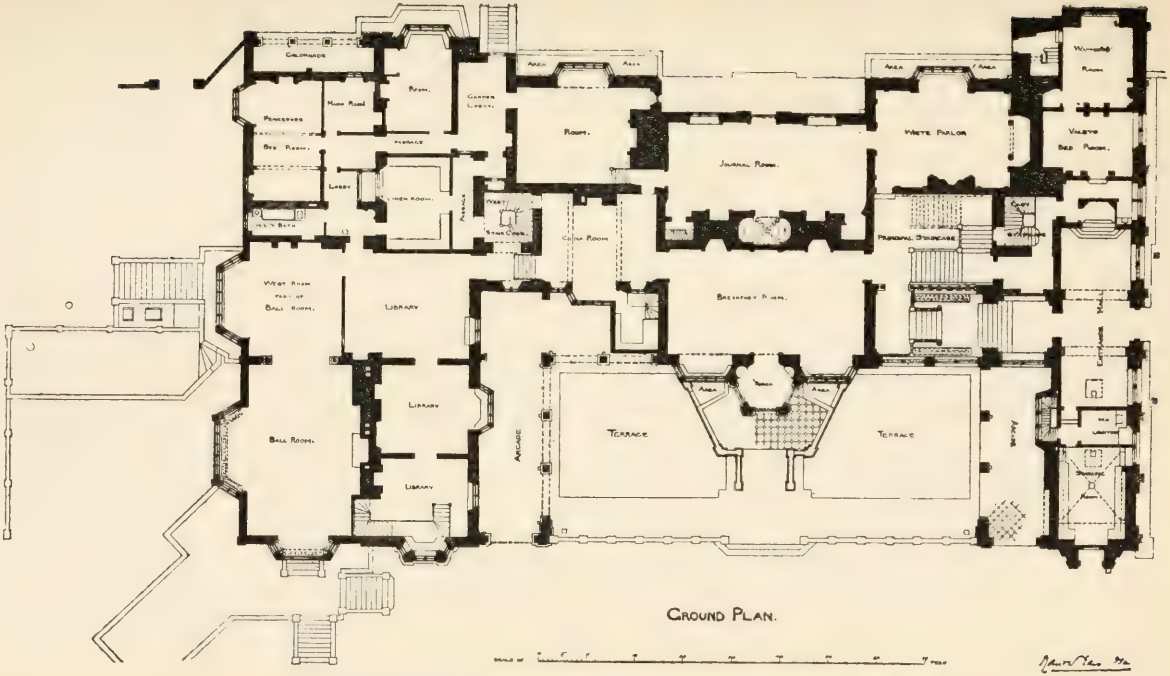


FIG. 18.—PLAN OF HOLLAND HOUSE AS AT PRESENT.

Faulkner's *History of Kensington* states that many alterations were carried out in the grounds in 1769 by Mr. Charles Hamilton, of Pains Hill, "a gentleman celebrated for his exquisite taste in gardening and an intimate friend of the first Lord Holland." The planting of the cedars, of which, owing to the smoke, unfortunately few remain, and of many other ornamental trees, is attributed to him. He also appears to have been responsible for the "Green Lane"—at least for the turf from which it takes its name, and with which it is still carpeted. In earlier days this was the scene of yet another ghostly tale. Near by, Lady Diana Rich, daughter of Henry, Earl of Holland, saw her own apparition "as in a looking-glass," and shortly after died of smallpox. Here, too, is preserved the stone which marked the spot, near "The Moats," where, in 1804, the fatal duel between Lord Camelford and Mr. Best was fought.

The formal gardens on the west side of the house, known as the Dutch gardens, were laid out in the third Lord Holland's time, and a bed of dahlias still remains where Lady Holland first reared the seeds of that plant, then new to this country, which she had procured in Spain in 1803 or 1804. Close by are "Rogers' Seat," the bronze bust of Napoleon, perhaps by Canova, and the row of arches festooned with ivy and creepers—the remains of the old stables, which were pulled down by the fourth Lord Holland. At the same time he erected the conservatory and the square block, built in keeping with the style of the house, which contains what is known as the "ball room." The upper part is evidently taken from a reproduction in Richardson's book of a portion of Coombe Abbey. These he connected with the house by a terrace supported on arcades, which, Henry Greville mentions in his *Diary*, had recently received its finishing touches in 1858. Various minor alterations and changes have since then been carried out, but in the main features

the grounds continue at present as they were in the days of the younger branch of the Fox family.

In dealing with the history of the old mansions of this country, difficulties arise on all sides from the frequent absence of any trustworthy records. Attributions are easily forgotten, and theory too often takes the place of facts. Indeed, a separate volume might be written about many of the old English homes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries without solving the various perplexities connected with their origin. It has been impossible, in the space of this article, to attempt to enter fully into the many puzzles to which the early history of Holland House gives rise, to describe its varied contents, or to present an exhaustive account of its historical associations. Perhaps at some future date it may be possible to throw further light on the difficulties which are so lightly traced in these short pages.

FULHAM PALACE AND THE BISHOPS OF LONDON

By S. W. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A.

WE might almost class this house as one of the many river palaces which lined the Thames bank in olden days; surrounded by lofty trees and a winding moat, which encircles the gardens of fair and ancient fame, Fulham retains much of its bygone charm.

The manor, mentioned in the Domesday Survey, was granted in 691 to Bishop Erkenwald and his successors, originally held by a service of prayers and masses for the dead—a tradition which long survived. The manor remained in the See up to the year 1647, when for a time it passed into the hands of the Commonwealth.

The name Fulham has given rise to much speculation; an early mention occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 879. By some it was called Foulham, and Fullenhame, the habitation of birds, from the abundance of water-fowl which found shelter in the trees and marshy lands around. Another derivation gives that of a muddy or foul dwelling, *foul* and *ham*, home, a theory supported by Bosworth, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, and Somner, the antiquary.

Besides Fulham, the bishops of London had in past time houses at Much-Hadham in Essex, and Wickham. In London their palace was near old St. Paul's. This house, mentioned by Stow the chronicler, was situated

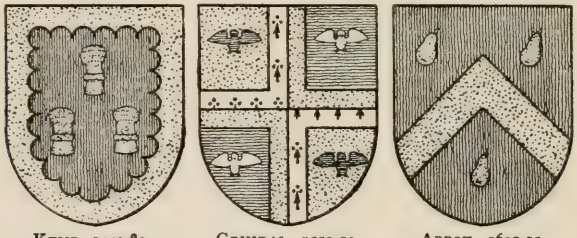
near Paternoster Row; the garden occupied half that famous thoroughfare, now the home of publishers and their craft.

Royal receptions and banquets took place at this London house, but we cannot forget the memory of its prisons, where episcopal tyranny held sway in those persecuting times. This old house was noticed by Stow in 1598, and it escaped the fire which so damaged St. Paul's Cathedral in 1561; and, falling into decay about 1650, was converted into tenements. Among some royal visitors were Katherine of Aragon, who lived here after her marriage with Prince Arthur of Wales, son of Henry VII.; his brother, Henry VIII.; besides ambassadors, cardinals, and others. Another London house, formerly Petre House, in Aldersgate Street, was the next abode of the bishops; this and other adjoining mansions were typical of noblemen's town houses in the seventeenth century. Thanet House, built by Inigo Jones, adjoined that of the bishops', which had a great gate and porch; a plate of the latter is given in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata.* The gardens were bordered by the priory wall of St. Bartholomew the Great, and east of the garden was the piazza and library. Maitland, in his *History of London*, speaks of it as "a very large and commodious brick building, with a neat chapel annexed, but has long been deserted by Prelates of the See; it is let with divers tenements and warehouses."

Like other noted spots, this London house has had its story. Here fled the Princess Anne from Whitehall Palace, and the shock of her flight unnerved her father, James II. Several bishops of London lived here, and Dr. Henchman rebuilt the house, and, when Dean of Salisbury, aided the escape of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester. The place was deserted as an episcopal residence after the year 1725, and London House, St. James' Square, was acquired for the See. The

Aldersgate Street house was, however, a link with Fulham, for the painted glass there, with armorial bearings, was brought from this City mansion, as well as the wainscot hereinafter to be mentioned (figs. 19 and 20).

Bishop Erkenwald, on whom the manor of Fulham was first conferred, held the See from 675 to 693. He was the son of Offa, of Essex, and is said, when a boy, to have heard the preaching of Mellitus, who was consecrated to the bishopric of St. Augustine in 604. He was canonized in after years, though many of the facts related of him seem to have been mythical; but an appreciative account of him is given by Dr. Sparrow Simpson in his *History of Old St. Paul's*. It



KEMP, 1449-89. GRINDAL, 1559-70. ABBOT, 1609-11.

FIG. 19.—ARMS OF BISHOPS FROM THE HALL WINDOWS.

is unlikely, though not impossible, that he ever resided at Fulham; but the site of the present palace underwent great alterations after his time, which would have destroyed any traces of his residence.

In the year 879 the Danes made an incursion up the river as far as Fulham, and they appear to have formed a camp and wintered on the site of the palace; and, according to the extremely probable theory of Sir Arthur Blomfield, as quoted by Mr. C. J. Fèret in his *Fulham Old and New*, they dug out the moat, which still surrounds the grounds, as a protection against attack. The area enclosed by the moat, which is nearly a mile long, is so extensive, containing some twenty-eight acres, that it is very improbable that it should have been made merely

for the defence of a house, since it would require a considerable body of men properly to hold it. It is of undoubted antiquity, and is mentioned in the Court Rolls for 1392 under the name of the *magna fossa*, or great ditch. That it was regarded, however, as in a manner protecting the manor-house is shown by the incident of Robert de Sigillo, a partizan of the Empress Matilda, and by whose influence he had become Bishop of London, taking refuge behind it in vain from the followers of King Stephen, who captured the bishop and exacted a heavy ransom for his release. This moat was, until recently, not connected with the tidal waters of the river, but filled merely by the water which percolated through the river banks, and it became at times stagnant and unwholesome. Bishop King (1611-21), however, connected it with the Thames by sluices; while Bishop Blomfield, in recent years, is said to have spent some thousands of pounds in its cleansing and improvement. A century ago it was well stocked with fish, and the kingfisher was constantly seen darting out from the banks; but now the houses of the main street of Fulham have so closely surrounded it that much of its quietness and rural aspect are destroyed.

Fulham House, properly so called, is approached by Bishop Compton's famous avenue of elms, bordering on the Bishops' Park, opened a few years since as a public recreation ground; and it is to be regretted that some of these trees were removed to make the park approach. By a picturesque but modern bridge and arched gateway we reach the oldest part of the house—the great brick quadrangle built by Bishop FitzJames in the reign of Henry VII. From this tranquil court we enter the hall erected by the same prelate; completed by Bishop Fletcher—father of the dramatist—in 1595, altered by Bishop Sherlock, it enshrines long memories of men and events which have made Fulham a landmark in Church history. Portraits and armorial glass, those

silent interpreters of the past, are here to tell the story of Fulham and its owners. For three centuries this palace can claim names more or less famous—Ridley, Grindal, Bancroft, and Sandys in the sixteenth century; Abbot, Laud, Juxon, and Sheldon in the seventeenth; while Bishops Sherlock, Lowth, and Porteous were conspicuous in the eighteenth. These and other prelates have left their record on the building; the mellowed brickwork, the panelled interior or the stained glass, all bespeak the work of former owners of this historic house. "The aspects of these venerable edifices," says the *Architectural Review*, 1898, "affect us like a human countenance, bearing the traces not only of outward stress and storm, of kind fortune and adversity, but preserve some of the long lapse of mortal life with its accompanying vicissitudes."

At a later period we can trace the hand of Bishop Sheldon in the library attributed to him, and the large sums he spent on the palace. With Bishop Sherlock we associate the alterations and panelling of the great hall, and the bishop's arms are over the fireplace in this apartment. This prelate wrote, in 1749: "I find this a bad old house; I must repair a great deal, and, afraid, build some part." Some of the apartments are still known as "Sherlock's rooms."

With Bishop Terrick the rebuilding of the river front, about 1765, took place, and to this period may be assigned the old chapel (now the library) fronting the garden; the wainscotting of his chapel was brought from London House, Aldersgate.

Fulham Palace in the eighteenth century underwent many changes. Bishop Robinson (1714-23) presented a petition to Archbishop Tenison that his "Manor House" (as we read in the *Register Tenison*, part ii., in the Lambeth Library) "was grown old and ruinous, and a great part of the building become useless," while certain Commissioners, Wren and Vanbrugh among them, were ordered to report on the structure. Vanbrugh, architect,

FULHAM PALACE: ENTRANCE TO THE GREAT HALL.

playwright, and artist, was famous for his design of Blenheim and Greenwich Hospital. His name survives in Vanbrugh Park, Blackheath, a former residence. Swift vented his satire on Vanbrugh even for the home he had built for himself in Whitehall:

> Van's genius, without thought or lecture,
> Is strangely turned to architecture.

During Bishop Howley's tenure of the See of London (1813-28), drastic changes occurred at Fulham; the hall was converted into a private unconsecrated chapel, and other old portions were taken down, making a sweep almost as great as that which Lambeth Palace underwent during his primacy. There is a much better spirit now abroad; while the words of the late William Morris, who did so much to preserve old work, recur to us: "Every time one of these buildings disappears it is a national misfortune, for while most mistakes may be remedied, the destruction of an ancient building is unremediable."

Bishop Blomfield (1828-56) took much interest in Fulham. "His home and a home dearly loved," we read in the *Memoirs of Bishop Blomfield*, "so close upon the restless world, yet itself a haunt of ancient peace. No one appreciated this charm so much as the bishop himself, and his greatest wish was to pass his last hours in a place endeared to him by so many associations." He was the last lord of the manor who received the gross income of the bishopric, for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had then begun to regulate episcopal incomes. Bishop Tait had the new chapel, designed by Butterfield, erected; while the hall, serving for a time as the chapel, was restored to its original use. The same prelate, as well as his successor, Bishop Temple, carried out several improvements. The many changes the palace has undergone, and the historical events which cling to its walls, fittingly illustrate the words of Archbishop Tait: "The admonitions of places

are to the student of history as powerful as the admonitions of books."

From the fifteenth century onward several of the bishops of London (many of whom were translated to the primacy) made a record in history: among them, Simon of Sudbury; Courtenay, of Devon birth and fame; John Kemp (1420-26), afterwards Chancellor, Archbishop of York, and, lastly, Primate. The learned Warham, Keeper of the Great Seal and Lord Chancellor in 1502, was two years at Fulham, and a much longer time at Lambeth. Cuthbert Tunstal, the great theologian, who was Master of the Rolls, became Bishop of London in 1522; thence translated to Durham in 1530, where his deprivation occurred from his adherence to the Roman Catholic religion.

The Tudor days seem to have reflected everywhere their lustre and fame, whether in the Church or in scholarly lore. At this time we meet with Nicholas Ridley, one of the chaplains of Henry VIII., Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards of London from 1550-53. The Tower, his prison house, was only exchanged for martyrdom at Oxford. We cannot forget his labours in helping Archbishop Cranmer in the compilation of the Liturgy, nor his efforts with Edward VI. towards establishing the noble hospitals of Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas' in London. Dr. Ridley was master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and a walk in the gardens there was known as "Ridley's Walk." It is said that the bishop, when at Fulham, showed great kindness to Bonner's mother and sister, having them to live there, favours which were ill-repaid when the relentless Bonner became Bishop of London.

His successor, Edmund Grindal, held the See for eleven years (1559-70); afterwards translated to York and Canterbury. Chaplain to Bishop Ridley, he was also the friend of many of the learned Reformers who,

in Queen Mary's reign, had to fly abroad, and Grindal with them. On Elizabeth's accession he was made Bishop of London, and with him we may date the rise and fame of the Fulham gardens, noted for rare trees and plants. A patron of literature, Grindal delighted in the poetry of Spenser, who, in his *Shepherds' Calendar*, speaks of him under the assumed name of "Algrind." Lords Bacon and Burleigh were his friends; to the latter Grindal wrote from Fulham in 1566: "He was sorry he had no fruit to offer him but some grapes." To Queen Elizabeth he sent an annual present of grapes. The Queen visited Bishops Aylmer and Bancroft also at Fulham, and King James and Charles I. were received there. "Gardens," wrote Fuller, "began to creep out of Holland into England in the reign of Henry VIII.," and it is supposed that the terrace walks and avenues of Nonsuch Palace in Surrey may have suggested the idea of Bacon's *Essays on Buildings and Gardens.* The grounds at Gorhambury, laid out by his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, may also have inspired in him the love for gardening and its lore.

It was truly the golden age of gardening. John Gerarde, author of *The Herbal*, published in 1579, was gardener to Lord Burleigh. There was a new impetus given to the handicraft by such patronage, and a revived interest in horticulture, that to some extent had died out after the monastery gardens had been broken up on the dissolution of the religious orders. Bishop Grindal introduced the tamarisk, which he brought from Switzerland, into the grounds at Fulham. One cannot forgive Queen Elizabeth's harsh treatment of him when, as Archbishop of Canterbury, his work on *Prophesyings* incurred her anger—his age and blindness ought surely to have weighed with the imperious Queen. The fine monument to this prelate in Croydon Church was totally destroyed by the fire there in 1867.

Though Bishop Grindal's care of the Fulham gardens was great, the same cannot be recorded of his successors.

One of them, Dr. Aylmer, is said to have destroyed several trees; notwithstanding, Strype, in his *Biography*, asserts "he only cut down two or three decayed ones." Whatever happened, the matter was discussed by Lord Bacon, who wrote "that having cut down such a cloud of trees, he must be a good man to throw light in dark places."

For some long years we hear little of the Fulham gardens till the advent of Bishop Compton (1675-1714), who was a noted benefactor to them. The gardening art had reached a high excellence, treatises abounded thereon, while John Evelyn's *Discourse on Forest Trees* and his *Gardeners' Almanac* led the way to a greater appreciation of the craft. Le Notre, landscape gardener to Louis XIV., had been invited to England by Charles II., and many a plaisance reflects the skilled though somewhat formal designs of that famous artist.

In 1681 Evelyn mentions his visit to Fulham, when he saw the *Sedum arborescens* in flower; in his own garden at Wotton, near Dorking, he introduced and planted many rare trees and shrubs. His visits to famous gardens in Italy and France are charmingly described in his Diary; while Addison writes in the *Spectator* that "the pleasure we take in a garden is one of the most innocent delights in human life."

Le Roy, the famous botanist, visited Fulham in 1687, a visit described in his *History of Plants;* and some thirty years later Richard Bradley, a known expert, cites many specimens from the Fulham grounds. Their fame attracted the notice of Sir W. Watson, who wrote a paper on them for the Royal Society, wherein he quotes a list of thirty-seven, noticing among them the Black Virginia Walnut, the Cluster Pine, Honeycomb Ash and Maple. Bishop Compton had much correspondence with the botanists of Europe and America. Evelyn says of him:

FULHAM PALACE: ARCHWAY TO WALLED GARDEN.

He planted a greater variety of curious exotic plants and trees than had at any time been collected in any garden in England.

In the gardens at Fulham are splendid hickory and other trees of Bishop Compton's planting. He had a thousand species of exotic plants in his stoves and gardens . . . there were few days in the year, till towards the latter part of his life, but he was actually in his garden, ordering and directing the removal and replacing of his trees and plants.

We find a catalogue of the exotic trees at Fulham in the Philosophical Society's *Transactions* (vol. xlvii.), 1751, and a survey made of the gardens by Lysons, the antiquary, in 1793 and 1809.

Later bishops did not neglect these grounds, for we hear of Bishop Porteous planting cedars; and other occupants, as Bishops Howley, Blomfield, and Tait, seem to have maintained and improved the walks so full of valuable shrubs.[1]

During the Stuart times, and later, Fulham can chronicle some illustrious occupants of its ancient manor house. Dr. Abbot held the see of London for one year only (1610-11), thence translated to Canterbury. He is remembered as founding the hospital at Guildford, his native place, to which he was deeply attached. One of three noted brothers, Dr. Abbot took part in the famous Hampton Court Conference; latterly, he lost his influence in Church and State on the rise of Bishop Laud, his rival and adversary. This prelate's five years of London's episcopate (1628-33) seem to have been busily spent; as Chancellor of Oxford University he advocated the purchase of Greek MSS., and in London interested himself in the repairs of St. Paul's under Inigo Jones' supervision, as well as the buildings at St. John's, Oxford, his own college. During these years Bishop Laud in reality ruled the See of Canterbury, owing to the failing health and declining influence of Archbishop Abbot, whom he succeeded in the primacy in 1633. Always a Court favourite, Laud in after years influenced

1 A full account of the old gardens is given in the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Cecil's recent work, *London Parks and Gardens*, 1908.

and directed Charles I. in many ecclesiastical measures which ultimately proved the downfall of King and Primate.

Bishop Juxon, his successor, who attended Charles I. on the scaffold, and whose arms appear beneath the clock-tower of the brick quadrangle, held the See of London until the Commonwealth, when, as a Royalist, he lost his high office and retired into Warwickshire. On the Restoration he was made archbishop, and was associated with Lambeth in the great hall which he rebuilt after its destruction during the Civil War. During this time Fulham Palace was in the hands of Colonel Edmund Harvey; its somewhat remote site seems to have saved it from spoliation.

In 1660 Gilbert Sheldon was Bishop of London. At his own cost he built the famous Sheldonian Theatre, one of Wren's great works, and took much interest in the antiquities of Oxford University, with which his relations were most liberal. Always in Royal favour, it was said "none hath the King's ear more, so none is likely to prevail on his heart more." His tenure of Fulham was only three years, whence he was promoted to the archbishopric in 1663. It is somewhat singular that four bishops of London—viz., Abbot, Laud, Juxon, and Sheldon—should have been advanced almost in succession to the primacy.

In 1675 Henry Compton's name lends a lustre to the See of London. His career was brilliant and historical, from a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, to bishop of that See; he took a part in State affairs during the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William of Orange. His correspondence was varied both at home and abroad; his views and sympathies were wide; his zeal against Roman Catholics incurred the displeasure of James II. He was suspended from all ecclesiastical functions, and deprived of his office of Dean of the Chapels Royal; and in his seclusion he returned to his books and to the

gardens at Fulham, about which we have already heard. With the advent of William III., Dr. Compton was restored to the See, being the only bishop who signed for the accession of that sovereign, whom he crowned at Westminster after the suspension of Archbishop Sancroft. Dr. Compton hoped to have succeeded to the primacy, but Tillotson was chosen, and this, with other disappointments, alienated him from the Whig party, who had supported him hitherto, though his loyalty to the Crown should have prevailed. To James II. he said "he had formerly drawn the sword in the defence of the constitution"; his early military life had stood him in good stead on several occasions. Charitable and benevolent, he aided in the building of churches, as well as showed sympathy with the distinguished refugees from France and elsewhere, both by appeals and money. As a preacher Evelyn writes of him: "This worthy person's talent is not preaching, but he is like to make a brave and serious good name."

Dr. Gibson, of scholarly and antiquarian fame, is noted for his learned essays on Convocation when the controversy between the two Houses was at its height; a translation of Camden's *Britannia*, in 1722, was another of his many labours. As chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, he collected valuable MSS., which, known as the Gibson Papers, are among the rich inheritance of Lambeth Library. Sir Robert Walpole was reproached for making too much of Gibson, and making him a Pope; "and a very good Pope, too," replied that statesman.

Dr. Gibson's successor, Bishop Sherlock (1748-61), was a controversialist, taking a leading part in what was known as the "Bangorian Controversy," which he afterwards regretted. At an early age he was made Master of the Temple, a post he held fifty years; his legal knowledge added value to his speeches in the House of Lords. A desire for unity amidst all religious differences found a real advocate in Dr. Sherlock, who

was certainly one of the famous eighteenth century bishops. On the death of George I. he came again into favour, and was made Bishop of Bangor. In 1748 the Sees of London and Canterbury were both vacant, an episode which occasioned some rhyming verses.

> At the Temple one day Sherlock, taking a boat,
> A waterman asked him, "Which way will you float?"
> "Which way," says the doctor, "why, fool! with the stream"—
> To St. Paul's or to Lambeth, was all one to him.

The bishop was able and popular, leaving behind large benefactions and his library to the University of Cambridge; also obtaining Parliamentary powers to dispose of his London house, then in Aldersgate Street, for the benefit of the See.

Succeeding bishops, as Porteous, Howley, Blomfield, Tait, Temple, Creighton, and the present Prelate, are well known in the ecclesiastical world. The long roll of Fulham's occupants tells of history which has centred round its ancient walls with the changes of time and fortune, conveying lessons of human life in every age. "What we must know," writes the Rev. W. H. Hutton, "is how men lived and thought, not merely how they acted; we must see them in their homes, and not only in the senate or in the field."

The house as it now appears, after the many alterations we have enumerated, consists of a large but low oblong pile built round two quadrangles, the outer one built mainly by Bishop FitzJames, which has been already mentioned, and an inner and smaller one, surrounded by more modern buildings. The house stands with the ancient part towards the avenue from which we enter it, and the modern facing the lawns and gardens, while the south face, by which is built the newer, and though very correct, yet somewhat incongruous, chapel, looks over the river. The rooms on the north side of FitzJames' quadrangle are usually associated with Bishop Bonner, whose ghost was once supposed to wander in

Fulham Palace: Bishop Laud's Buildings.

the shrubberies, and forms the subject of some verses by Hannah More in her lighter vein, dated 1900 (*sic*), in Faulkner's *Fulham*, published in 1813. The buildings on the south side are known as Laud's rooms, from some additions made by him during his episcopacy, which was also locally marked by his founding and building in the parish the chapel—now the church—of St. Paul at Hammersmith, quite recently rebuilt. Between the house and the church a considerable area of ground is enclosed in what is known as the "walled garden," which is, in fact, the kitchen garden, now only interesting from the beautiful brick entrance gateway, which is attributed also to Bishop FitzJames.

The ground lying south of the moat, and between it and the river, which was embanked and opened by the London County Council in 1893 as a public recreation ground under the title of the "Bishops' Park," was once a meadow, and, from the fact that it was frequently under water, was called the "tide meadow." Along it ran the "Bishops' Walk," which was considerably raised to protect the grounds from the river floods, and had a second moat outside it. At the Fulham end of this walk stood a house known as "Pryor's Bank," in the Strawberry Hill Gothic style of architecture famous in the early part of the last century; while at the other end were Craven Cottage and Brandenburg House, both closely associated with the somewhat notorious Margravine of Anspach. On the river-side were the "Bishops' Steps," from which the bishop usually took the water when going to London, a matter of daily occurrence in busy times; and there his barge, a roomy conveyance manned by eight or ten rowers, was generally moored.

At the east end of the Bishops' Walk was the Bishops' Ferry, for passage across to Putney before the bridge was built. As this ferry belonged to the manor, as was usually the case under such circumstances, the owners

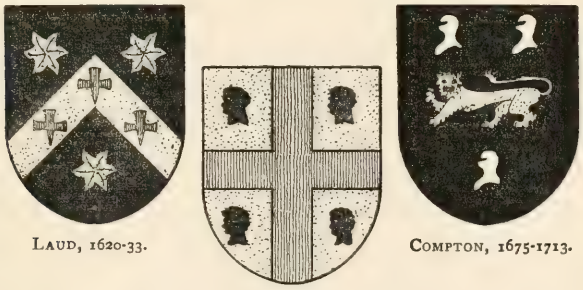
had to be compensated in cash and privileges when their income from such a source was destroyed; and in the case of the bishops, not only did they receive a money consideration, but they and their servants were permitted to cross the bridge without toll. Croker, in his *Walk from London to Fulham*, speaks of the curious effect produced on other passengers by a bricklayer or porter shouting, with stentorian lungs, to the toll-keeper, "Bishop!" to prove that he was entitled to the privilege as an episcopal servant.

The wooden bridge which superseded the ferry, with the picturesque toll-house spanning the road on the Middlesex side, and its gates and bell-cot, have given place to a more useful but much less beautiful structure of granite. The old bridge was erected in 1726 of timber, and the Act authorizing its construction was mainly due to Sir Robert Walpole, whose connection with it was commemorated in the centre opening, which was the widest, and called after him, "Walpole's Lock." Not only has the old bridge perished, but all the picturesque houses which lined Fulham High Street leading to it have been recently destroyed; and the old Swan Inn, which stood among them, and in which the Commissioners for building the bridge used to meet, was burned down in 1871. It is interesting to note that the old bridge had a temporary predecessor, in which the bishops had no interest, for in 1642 the Parliamentary army built a bridge on barges and lighters over the Thames between Fulham and Putney to convey the army into Surrey. Many houses in Putney and Fulham were the head-quarters of the Parliament and their officials; and Whitelock, in his *Memorials*, says that the generals "held their councils in Putney Church, and heard sermons there also." Though this invading force was so near, Fulham Palace does not appear to have suffered like some buildings in the Civil War time.

The adjoining church claims a word, for in the

churchyard several prelates of the See of London are interred, including Bishops Compton, Lowth, Sherlock, Gibson, Robinson, and Blomfield. Little, however, of the ancient church itself now remains; it was altered so much at the end of the last century by Sir Arthur Blomfield as to amount to rebuilding. The fine fifteenth century tower, with its celebrated peal of bells, remains intact. A large number of monuments and tombs have been preserved, and among them some valuable brasses, not the least interesting of which is a lozenge-shaped panel inscribed with the name of Margaret Svanders, of Ghent, who became the wife of the celebrated illuminator, Gerard Hornebolt, who worked from 1516 to 1521 for Margaret of Austria when Regent of the Netherlands.

Though church and palace still stand, surrounded and half-hidden behind their trees, the traffic of the great city is already surging around them to the very gates of the manor-house. In an historic spot such as this one we may feel ourselves face to face with the past, and especially with the persons who made it so memorable. We can appreciate the full significance of the words which Leigh Hunt wrote: "I have never found myself the worse for seeing places rendered interesting by great men and their works, yet the better. . . . I seem to have walked, talked, suffered, and enjoyed with them."



LAUD, 1620-33. JUXON, 1633-60 COMPTON, 1675-1713.

FIG. 20.—ARMS OF BISHOPS FROM THE HALL WINDOWS.

THE MONASTERY AND HOUSE OF SYON[1]

By the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE monastery of Syon was founded within the manor of Isleworth in the year 1414 by Henry V. This remarkable religious house was of the Order of St. Augustine as reformed by St. Bridget, the royal widowed saint of Sweden, who died on July 23rd, 1372, in her seventieth year. She was canonised by Boniface IX. in 1391; her enrolment among the saints was examined, and unanimously confirmed by the Council of Constance in 1415, at the petition of the clergy and nobility of Sweden. Her remains were eventually deposited at the great Swedish monastery of Vadstena, in the diocese of Linköping, which she built for a joint community of both sexes about the time of her husband's death in 1344. St. Bridget obtained a confirmation of the new religious order which she had founded from Pope Urban V. in 1363. She was the author of various devotional works; her *Revelations* were printed at Lubeck in 1492.

To the important English religious house of Bridgettines was given the name of Syon, in reference to the

1 One of the chief sources of information for this sketch is the remarkably full and authentic *History of Syon Monastery*, by Mr. Aungier, published in 1840; but in most instances the originals of the documents there cited have been consulted, as well as many others which have come to light at the Public Record Office, etc., since that date.

Holy Mount, but it was jointly dedicated to our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Bridget. The full complement of the house consisted of eighty-five persons, answering to our Lord's thirteen apostles (including St. Paul) and the seventy-two disciples, namely, sixty nuns or sisters, whereof one was the abbess; thirteen priests, one to preside under the name of Confessor; four deacons, representing the four doctors of the Church; and eight lay brothers.

The abbess had the chief rule over both sexes, and the eventual management of the revenues. The sisters wore a gown, hood, and mantle of plain grey cloth, simply made. The mantle in winter might be lined with sheep or lamb's wool, but not with delicate skins. Shoes were worn in summer, but high boots in winter. On the head was worn a black linen veil, and on the veil a white linen cap, to which were sewn five small pieces of red cloth, allusive to the five sacred wounds, arranged in the form of a cross. The priests and brethren wore tunics, and frocks, and mantles of grey cloth; the thirteen priests had a red cross edged with narrow white cloth on the left side of their mantles, symbolic of the mystery of the Body of Christ; the four deacons wore on their mantles a white circle with four tongue-shaped pieces of red, symbolic of the incomparable wisdom of the four doctors inflamed with the Holy Spirit; and the lay brothers a white cross with five red pieces, symbolic of the innocence and wounds of our Lord. The bedding was of straw, and they had two blankets.

Silence was strictly enjoined on both sisters and brethren during certain specified portions of the day, and always "In chirche, quyer, freytour, cloyster, dortour, and in the house of secrete nede"; but, as their wants could not be supplied without some means of communication, a table of signs was compiled for the use of this monastery. The quaintness of this sign table, consisting

of upwards of a hundred divisions, can be judged from a few extracts:

Ale. Make the signe of drynk, and drawe thy hand displaied afore thyn eer dunwarde.

Brede. Make with thy two thombes and two forefyngers a rounde compas. And if thou wole have white, make the signe therof (drawe thy two right fyngers by thy cheke donnwarde); and if browne, toche thy cowlle sleve.

Candelstyke. Joyne thy eithere fist, and holde the right overe the lefte.

Egges. Make a token with thy right fore fingere upon thy left thombe to and fro, as though thou shulde pill egges.

Encence. Put thy two fyngers into thy two nose thirles (nostrils).

Fysshe. Wagge thy hand displaied sidelinges in manere of a fissh taill.

I Mysilf. Put thy right fore fyngere ende to thy brest.

Litle. Bowe all thy fyngers, and holde up thy lytle fingere.

Musterd. Holde thy nose in the uppere parte of thy right fiste and rubbe it.

Rede Colour. Put thy fore fynger to the rede place of thy cheke.

Salte. Philippe with thy right thombe, and the fore fynger over the left thombe.

Vyneaire. Make the sign of wine, and drawe thy forefyngere from thyne ere to thy throte.

From these extracts it might be thought that the refectory would become almost a place of amusement from the frequent use of such a diversity of quaint signs. It is therefore only right to quote from a general rule as to the use of signs:

Also they schal have warnes in alwyse that they speke not withe ther fyngers whan they schewe anything, that is, that they exercise non inordinate sygne of unstableness, for how be it that sygnes be necessaryly ordeyned for to exclude occasion of ydel, vayne, superflue, and unprofitable speche, yet it is never lawful to use them withoute some reson and profitable nede, for oftetyme more hurteth an evil sygne than an evil worde, and more offence it may be to God.

Conversation with seculars was permitted to the sisters only in company, and with the license of the abbess from noon to vespers, and this only on Sundays and the great feasts. Moreover, such conversation could be secured merely at the appointed windows; no nun being

permitted after profession to leave the cloisters. No sister was admitted under eighteen, nor brother under twenty-five.

Fasts were strictly observed on particular days, including vigils of great feasts, only bread and water; fish and white meats from Holy Rood Day till Michaelmas, and from All Saints to Advent. At other times flesh on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday; Lenten food on all Fridays.

The chief objects of the devotion of the inmates were to be the Passion of Christ and the honour due to His Blessed Mother. The sexes in all Bridgettine houses were completely separated in accordance with minute regulations. The rules of Syon Monastery were most detailed as to the profession of sisters and brethren, the election of abbesses and confessors general, the duties of each person holding office, and their conduct in the different parts of the buildings. The most minute directions are given as to penance for different grades of offence, such as "lyght defawtes," "grevous defautes," "more grevous defautes," and "most grevous defautes"; for the last degree "the peyne of prysonmente so tyl sche be very repentaunte."[1]

The first religious of this order were introduced into England from the parent house of Vadstena by Henry Lord Fitzhugh, a man of much eminence in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. On the coronation of the latter king, he was appointed Constable of England, and subsequently Lord Chamberlain of the Household. It was this nobleman who suggested to Henry V. that the monastery he had resolved on founding should be of the Bridgettine order, and he endowed the foundation with £20 a year. The long foundation charter, dated March 3rd, 1415, is couched in the most spiritual terms; it is

1 The setting forth of these rules for both sexes, with their additions, occupy upwards of 150 pages of small type in Mr. Aungier's octavo volume.

therein laid down that the abbess and sisters are to be "refreshed and fed with the hearing divine services and wholesome preaching and erudition, and to be assisted in the perils and difficulties of their spiritual necessities by the priests of the establishment." The abbess and sisters were to dwell in one court, and the confessor and brothers in another separate court. A certain parcel of land was assigned to them in the royal manor of Isleworth, in Twickenham parish, on the bank of the Thames, the bounds of which were, respectively, 1,938 ft., 960 ft., 2,820 ft., and 980 ft. in extent. The King nominated Matilda Newton as the first abbess, and William Alnewyk as the first confessor. The house was to receive a thousand marks annually out of the Royal Exchequer. The foundation-stone was laid by the King in the presence of the Bishop of London, and a royal gift of a thousand marks of gold was made to be expended in building the house.

On the suppression of the alien priories in 1417 divers of their lands were granted by the Crown in trust to Syon Monastery, and it was at that time enacted that they should take no more of any man, but whatever overplus of their revenue remained was to be bestowed upon the poor.

Pope Martin V., in 1418, received the monastery of Syon under the protection of the Apostolic see, and confirmed by bull the appropriation of the churches of Yeovil and Crofton, in the dioceses of Wells and Lichfield. On February 5th, 1420, when the conventual buildings were finished, twenty-four sisters, five priests, two deacons, and four lay brothers were professed, and took their vows in the presence of Archbishop Chicheley.

Henry VI. showed great favour to the house, and not only confirmed all previous grants, but materially added to them from time to time. The first stone of the new church was laid in 1426 by John, Duke of Bedford, in the presence of the Bishops of London

and Winchester. But in 1431 the abbess and convent petitioned to be allowed to occupy a new site. Henry VI., in granting their request, admitted that the original site was too small and confined in its dimensions for the continued residence of so large a number, and sanctioned their removal to a more commodious site in another part of Isleworth, immediately to the west of the parish church, and on the margin of the Thames. The new buildings were still incomplete in the year 1442, whilst other works were in active operation as late as 1462.

Edward IV. proved to be as ardent an upholder of the various privileges of the house as his predecessors on the throne. Numerous acts of his in favour of the abbess and convent appear on the Patent Rolls of 1461, 1462, and 1464.

In 1468 a further patent of Edward IV. shows that certain parts of the monastery were even then not completed, for the King in that year granted letters of protection and safe conduct to a vessel called the *Mary of Caen*, of 80 tons burden, laden with stones from Caen to be used in the construction and completion of the house of Syon.

A complete survey of the possessions of the house was taken in 1492, with their clear annual value. Their total revenue from manors, lands, and pensions in the counties of Cambridge, Cornwall, Devon, Essex, Gloucester, Kent, Lancaster, Somerset, Sussex, and Wilts. amounted to £1,616 18s. 5½d.

About this period Anne, daughter of Cecily Duchess of York, wife of Richard Duke of York, and mother to Edward IV., was prioress (second in command) in this monastery, as appears from her will, dated April 1st, 1495.

There were some small additional grants made to the house in the reign of Henry VII. In 1502 the great tithes of Olney, Bucks., were appropriated. Two years later the King covenanted with the Abbot of

Westminster to pay the abbess and convent of Syon the yearly sum of £3 6s. 8d. for an anniversary to be solemnly kept for the King, his Queen and family "whille the worlde shall endure."

On August 31st, 1518, Constance Browne was elected abbess in the place of Elizabeth Gibbs. The election was confirmed two days later by the Bishop of London. At that time Margaret Windsor, sister of Andrew Lord Windsor, was prioress. The nuns or sisters were usually drawn from the higher ranks of society. Among them at this date occur such names as Scrope, Strangeways, Strickland, Brereton, Hastings, Ogle, Fitzherbert, Newdigate, Tresham, etc. Up to the time of their suppression five of the abbesses were of noble birth.

When Henry VIII. first desired divorce from Katharine, strenuous efforts were made to extort a letter favourable to the scheme from "the ladies of Syon." The King appears never to have forgiven them for their firm resistance.

So soon as Henry VIII. had repudiated the papacy, in 1534, Cromwell was appointed Visitor-General of all the religious houses. The commissioners he employed were entrusted with plenary powers far in excess of those possessed by episcopal visitors, and he only selected coarse-grained and subservient men who were willing to become the highly-paid tools of himself and his royal master. Of these, Dr. Richard Layton proved himself to be the foulest and the most absolutely unprincipled of the four chief commissioners. Abbot Gasquet is amply justified in saying that "his letters, on the face of them, are the outpourings of a thoroughly brutal and depraved nature." He wanted bribes both for himself and his master, and when, amidst other preferment, he was rewarded by being made Dean of York, he pawned the plate belonging to that cathedral church, and it was not redeemed—and then at the expense of the chapter—until 1544. This was the man appointed

by Cromwell to inquire into the life and morality of the community of Syon. With the disgusting letter of report that Layton sent to Cromwell as to the conduct of certain of this house, these pages cannot be defiled. All that need here be said as to this matter is that every genuine student of the history of this period—such as Dr. Jessopp, Canon Dixon, and, above all, Dr. Gairdner, the official historian of the reign—agrees that neither Layton, nor his equally notorious colleague Legh, are deserving in these matters of the slightest credit. The fact is they were hired to bully, vilify, and defame, and they did their work with a will. In the case of Syon, as in many other religious houses, it is clear that the slanders of the commissioners were not really believed, for two of the brothers, who were accused of the worst of evils, were shortly afterwards pensioned, when the monastery was suppressed.

The Carthusians were the one order which, for a considerable time, stood out against the acknowledgment of the King's spiritual supremacy. The pathetic story of their sufferings, as told in the pages of Froude, and elsewhere, is well known. When the three Carthusian priors were in prison in the tower, in April, 1535, they were joined by Richard Reynolds, the Confessor-General of Syon, who had been committed to ward for the like cause. Reynolds was brave in his depositions, though he knew well what to expect; he declared that though "he would spend his blood for the King, still that the Pope is head of the Church, and not the King." He added that he only acted in this matter as a hundred thousand that were dead had done before him. The four, on their refusal to take the oath of supremacy, were declared guilty of high treason, and were executed at Tyburn on May 4th, 1535, together with John Hall, vicar of Isleworth, a church under the immediate shadow of Syon Monastery. The circumstances attending their execution were unusually horrible and ghastly, even in those days

of torturing and prolonged death reserved as the punishment of treason. The religious were all drawn to Tyburn, and executed in their habits, and everything was done to make this execution a terrible example to any of the religious who should resist the King's claims on their spiritual allegiance.

So far as Syon was concerned the slaughter of Reynolds and Hall had much of the desired effect, and the community was cowed into submission.

Towards the close of 1535 Father John Copinger, who succeeded the martyred Reynolds as Confessor of Syon, was induced to try and persuade certain Carthusians, who were still obstinate, to yield as to the royal supremacy, and he also acted in like manner in 1537. In June of the latter year Copinger wrote to Cromwell, saying that the brethren of Syon had long since abstained from preaching (they were forbidden at the visitation of 1534-5 ever to leave their house) in accordance with the King's precept, but that now sloth and idleness were imputed to them for that very cause. He therefore begged Cromwell to grant them a relaxation from that commandment, and restore them to their duty of preaching. No wonder that under the new regulations—for the brothers of Syon were never intended, like the sisters, to be strictly cloistered—and under the pressure of those fickle times, that some of the inmates grew restless.

On the night of June 10th, 1537, one William Knotton, priest, professed in Syon, departed thence over the walls, and was caught by the constables of Brentford. He was brought before a local official at five o'clock in the morning, who at once wrote to Cromwell saying that Knotton declared he was about to sue the Vicar-General for release from his religion. He was in the custody of the Brentford constables.

Although the brothers discharged a variety of offices on the part of the community at large in connection with the disposal and administration of their property,

the actual control of it and the awarding of patronage remained exclusively in the hands of the abbess and her convent. It was therefore on Agnes Jordan, the last abbess, that Cromwell and his officials exercised their outrageous pressure—as they did in scores of other cases with religious superiors—to secure some kind of legal authority for the transference of monastic property in the days when they knew that it was all tottering to a fall, and that the larger monasteries would speedily follow those of lesser income, which were already suppressed.

The Essex property of the house was considerable, and brought in the very large income for those days of about £100 a year. In May, 1537, the abbess and her nuns were induced—doubtless under severe threats—to commit the ecclesiastically illegal act of alienating a variety of small plots of land at Felsted to Sir Richard Rich, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, and to Elizabeth, his wife. In March, 1538, Sir Richard Rich grew bolder—and there was no more absolutely unscrupulous appropriator of monastic property in the whole kingdom—and actually received a charter of alienation from the timorous abbess of the lordships and manor of Felsted, and the rest of their Essex properties, together with the advowson of Felsted vicarage.

The robbery had now begun, and the end was not far off. Cromwell, who, as we know from private letters, had helped Rich to this big share of the house's property, suddenly discovered a flaw in the hold of the abbess and convent on any of their property which did away with any necessity for removing from them one of the so-called "surrenders," for there never was an Act of Parliament to hand over the greater monasteries to the King. So delighted was Cromwell over this discovery that three times over he entered in different notes of his "remembrances" a line to the effect that "touching the monastery of Syon, the King may dissolve it by

premunire as he will." The authorities of the house had incautiously and covertly assented, after an indirect fashion, to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. Cromwell accordingly determined that this action of theirs should be legally placed on record.

On May 29th, 1538, the Attorney-General brought forward a Bill on the King's behalf against the Bishop of London (John Stokesley), accusing him of violations of statutes 16 Richard II. and 28 Henry VIII., in having executed a bull of Pope Martin V., setting forth the rules of the Austin Order of sisters and brothers of St. Saviour of Syon, namely, that on February 5th, 1537, he took the professions of Thomas Knotton as a brother priest of that monastery, and of Thomas Godfrey as a lay brother under the obedience of John Copinger, then general confessor of that monastery, attributing authority to the see of Rome, and to the present Bishop of Rome, at Syon, Middlesex, on which occasion he performed various papistical rites and superstitions, such as the blessing and exorcising of vestments, cowls, mantles, etc., and that afterwards, on August 27th, 1537, he took the profession in like manner of John Grene, and on March 4th, 1538, of Anthony Sutton and John Howell, as brother priests of the same monastery. And, further, that Agnes Jordan, abbess of the monastery; Margaret Delye, sister and nun; John Copinger, general confessor; David Curzon, brother; and others, were accessories to these acts of the Bishop of London.

The bishop appeared in custody of the marshal; said that he could not deny the facts, and threw himself on the King's mercy. The case was adjourned until the following Saturday (Ascension Day) for judgment, the bishop remaining in custody. On that day the bail of six London citizens in five hundred marks each, and the bishop himself in ten thousand marks, was taken for the bishop's appearance on Monday in the quinzaine of St. John Baptist. When this last date came the bishop

was able to produce the King's pardon, and the matter so far dropped. A letter is extant of the bishop's to Cromwell, written on 29th of May, saying how he had submitted himself to the King's mercy, although he had taken pains to persuade them of Syon to renounce the Bishop of Rome, and relied upon his promise to intervene with the King.

Although the Bishop of London obtained this pardon, the King, through Cromwell's action and suggestions, knew that Syon was practically his own. The farce of obtaining a surrender under the convent's seal was not enacted, and before the close of the year the house was summarily suppressed.

The actual suppression of the monastery of Syon took place, according to Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, on November 25th, 1539. On the very day of its dissolution pensions were assigned to the inmates, to be paid quarterly, the first instalment being due at the following Christmas. To the abbess, Agnes Jordan, was assigned a pension of £200; to the prioress, Margaret Windsor, £33 6s. 8d.; to the treasurer, Margaret Dely,* £13 6s. 8d.; to the sacristan, Bridget Fytzherbert, £10; to Bridget Belgrave,* "chamberess," Joan Strangeways, Margaret Shouldame, Elizabeth Straunge,* Elizabeth Strykeland, and Elizabeth Edwardes, £8 each; to Margaret Bourchier, Dorothy Slyghte,* Agnes Smythe, Joan Judde, Alice Lyster, Clemente Tresham,* Parnelle Damporte, and Bridget Sulyard, £6 13s. 4d. each; to Katharine Sumerfeld, Katharine Brereton, Elizabeth Ogle,* Agnes Meret,* Effamy (Euphemia) Elmer, Joane Russhe,* Alice Jaye, Margaret Conyers, Elizabeth Mountayne, Anne Unkys, Susan Purfray,* Eleanor Fetyplace,* Ursula Fetyplace,* Rose Paget,* Margaret Elerton, Margery Covert,* Joan Deane,* Mary Denham,* Mary Witnoo,* Dorothy Codrington,* Anne Edwardes, Eleanor Pegge,* Katharine Palmer,* Elizabeth Knotysford,* Margaret Lupton, Alice Betenham,* Elizabeth Faure,* Elizabeth Yates,* Dorothy

Betenham,* Audrie Dely,* Anne Daumas,* Margaret Monyngton,* Mary Nevell,* and Alice Elerton,* £6 each.

Four lay sisters, namely, Alice Pulton,* Alice Senosse,* Elizabeth Crucheley,* and Margery Walker,* were assigned pensions of £2 13s. 4d. each.

As to the religious men of the house, David Curson, their superior or confessor-general, received a pension of £15; John Grene,* £10; Richard Whytford and Anthony Sutton, £8 each; John Stukyn,* Richard Lache, Anthony Lytle,* John Howell,* Thomas Polland, John Myllet, Thomas Pretuons, and John Selby, £6 13s. 4d. each.

To the lay brothers, namely, James Wolley, John Bartlet, John Massey,* and William Terlington,* were assigned pensions of 53s. 4d.[1]

It will thus be found that a total pension outlay was arranged of £678 6s. 8d. a year. At the moment of its dissolution the house had the full equipment of sisters, namely, sixty, and seventeen instead of twenty-five brothers. It should be remembered that the scale of the pensions of the abbess and sisters of Syon was very considerably in excess of those granted to other nunneries. £40 was a large pension for other abbesses, and £3 was the average for nuns.

On their suppression most of the Syon sisters continued their community life, residing in a convent of their order at Termonde, in Flanders, until Cardinal Pole brought them back to England in the second year of Philip and Mary, when the monastery was restored to them. Agnes Jordan, the late abbess, whose brass remains at Denham, Bucks., had died in 1545, and Catharine Palmer was elected her successor by the much reduced number of the nuns. Sir Francis Englefield

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1 Those to whose names an asterisk is affixed were still living and in receipt of their pensions in 1554, according to the pension roll of Philip and Mary

proved a benefactor, rebuilding a considerable part of the monastic buildings which had become dilapidated and pulled down.

When Elizabeth came to the throne the inmates were again ejected. The nuns, with the exception of Clementia Tresham, who had become abbess, and who died at Rushton, Northants, the residence of her family, again left England, and were eventually established at Lisbon. The story of the unbroken continuity of this community of English nuns in foreign countries is full of interest, and is told at some length in Mr. Aungier's pages. The House of Syon, as it is still termed, is now once more established in England. In 1861 they moved from Lisbon to Spettisbury, in Dorsetshire, but after a short sojourn they were transferred to their present settlement near Chudleigh, in South Devon. Abbess Agnes Teresa Joselyn is the present superior.

At the time of the first ejection of the community the buildings and precincts were reserved to the Crown, and were placed in the keeping of one John Gales. The house was selected for the imprisonment of that unhappy Queen, Katharine Howard. Here she was confined from November 14th, 1541, till February 10th in the following year, and three days afterwards she was executed. With the wretched meanness that characterised every movement of Henry VIII. towards his discarded wives, it was ordered that all her dresses whilst at Syon were to be plain and free from precious stones or pearls; an inventory was to be taken of all her jewels, and an attendant was appointed to take them to Hampton Court immediately on her "removal," as her threatened and intended execution was euphemistically termed.

Seven years later, namely, on February 14th, 1547, the body of the tyrant King, on its removal from Westminster to Windsor, rested for the first night at Syon, where mass was duly celebrated for the repose of his soul.

The boy-King, Edward VI., soon after his accession, granted Syon monastery to Protector Somerset. It was this nobleman who founded, out of the demolished buildings of the monastery and by the aid of much new material, the magnificent edifice which afterwards became the celebrated residence of the Percy family, most of the shell of which, notwithstanding successive alterations, still remains. The gardens, enclosed by high walls, were laid out in a manner much in advance of the times under the superintendence of Dr. Turner, who has been rightly described as "the father of English botany."

On the attainder of the Protector, the great mansion reverted for a brief period to the Crown. In June, 1553, Syon House was granted to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. It was here that as soon as the death of Edward VI. was made known, the Dukes of Northumberland, Suffolk, and others of the nobility waited on Lady Jane Grey, and persuaded her to accept the fatal crown. It was at Syon House that she had resided since her marriage. On yielding to the solicitations of her father-in-law and her husband, she was conveyed in great state to the Tower, and duly proclaimed Queen, with the well-known disastrous results. The Duke of Northumberland was beheaded the same year, and on the property again reverting to the Crown it was restored, as has already been noted, by Queen Mary in 1557 to the Bridgettine Order. Their tenure, however, of the restored property was very brief, for at the close of the following year Queen Elizabeth came to the throne. In 1560 Elizabeth appointed Sir Francis Knowles keeper of Syon House for life. Two years later, when the plague was raging in London, the house was surveyed with the intention of holding there the Court of the Exchequer.

In 1604 Syon House, with the manor of Isleworth, was granted by James I. to Henry Percy, ninth Earl of

Northumberland, and his heirs for ever. Several years earlier Queen Elizabeth had granted a lease of Syon House to the same earl. This nobleman spent large sums of money on the improvement and repairs of the buildings. Accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, he was condemned to pay a huge fine and to life imprisonment in the Tower. In a petition that the ill-fated earl addressed to the King in 1613, he offered this place as a compensation for the oppressive fine (£30,000) which had been imposed upon him.

Syon, and please your Majesty, is the only land I can put away, the rest being entayled. I had it before your Majesty's happy entry 40 yerers by lease without paying any rent, but such as was given back again certain in other allowances. It hath cost me, since your Majesty bestowed it upon me, partly upon the house, partly upon the gardens, almost £9,000. The land, as it is now rented and rated, is worth, to be sold, £8,000. . . . The house itself, if it were to be pulled down and sold, by view of workmen, comes to 8,000 and odde pounds. If any man, the best husband in building, should raise such another in the same place, £20,000 would not do it.

This proposal, however, was not accepted. After an imprisonment of nearly sixteen years, the earl was released in July, 1621, having paid £11,000 of his fine. He ended his days in retirement at Petworth.

The buildings of Syon were again repaired and embellished by Algernon Percy, the tenth Earl of Northumberland, after the designs of Inigo Jones. In 1647, on account of the spreading of the plague, the Dukes of York and Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth were lodged at Syon House by order of the Parliament. Charles I., then under confinement at Hampton Court, was, through the earl's influence, at this time frequently allowed to see his children. It was, too, in this year that the conferences of the seceders and the officers of the Parliamentary army were held at Syon House, and terms agreed to between them. Charles II. held his court at Syon House in 1665, during the plague outbreak.

In 1682 this estate returned to the family who had originally built the great mansion, through the marriage, in 1682, of Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, with Lady Elizabeth Percy, only surviving child and heiress of Josceline, eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland in the direct line. This lady, an immense heiress when four years of age, had the extraordinary and almost incredible fate of being three times a wife and twice a widow before she had attained to the age of sixteen!

Syon House, in 1692, was for a time the residence of the Princess of Denmark, afterwards Queen Anne.

On the death of Charles, sixth Duke of Somerset, in 1748, his granddaughter, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who had married Sir Hugh Smithson in 1740, brought Syon to her husband as heiress of the Percy property. In 1750 Smithson was created Earl of Northumberland, and assumed the name of Percy. The earl played a very prominent part in the politics of the day. In 1766 the King, to assuage his disappointment in not obtaining office, offered a marquisate, but the earl demanded and eventually obtained a dukedom, thus becoming the first Duke of Northumberland of the third creation.

The duke carried out many and great improvements in the house and gardens of Syon, improvements that have been amply sustained by his successors. Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, writing about 1778, says:—

> Syon House, which was old, ruinous, and inconvenient, his Grace hath finely improved; and fitting it up and finishing it, after the most perfect models of Greece and Rome, hath formed a villa, which for taste and elegance is scarce to be paralleled in Europe.

The duke, in his various improvements, employed Robert Adam as his architect, both for the interior and exterior of the mansion. Adam designed the well-known extravagant Syon Gate on the Brentford Road, of which Horace Walpole, with his usual cynical severity, wrote that it was "all lace and embroidery, and consequently most unfit to be exposed on a high road."

The house itself is a stately quadrangular building, enclosing a flower garden about eighty feet square. It is three storeys in height, and has embattled turrets at each angle. It is faced throughout with Bath stone. The chief entrance is by the large portico of the west front, from which a flight of steps leads to the great hall. The east front, which faces the river, is arcaded throughout its entire length, and on a raised pediment in the centre above the parapet is the celebrated lion, removed here in 1874 at the time of the demolishing of Northumberland House at the corner of Trafalgar Square. The great hall, paved with black and white marble, and richly ceiled in stucco, is 66 ft. by 31 ft., and 34 ft. high. The vestibule is supported by twelve ancient Ionic columns of *verde antique*, found in the Tiber, each of which cost £1,000. The drawing-room is 44 ft. by 21 ft., and 21 ft. high; the dining-room is 62 ft. by 21 ft., and 22 ft. high; and the long gallery, which runs along the eastern front, is 135 ft. long, 14 ft. wide, and 14 ft. high. In the dining-room are many family portraits by Reynolds and Lawrence; in other rooms are pictures by Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller, as well as a good collection of Dutch and Flemish pictures.

The pleasure grounds cover an area of twenty-five acres. They contain several ancient mulberry trees, which are sometimes pointed out as having been there in monastic days, but this is a mistake. They were planted after the grounds came into secular hands; one of them bears the date 1546. The gardens are specially rich in cedars, cypresses, and acacias, and there is a double avenue of limes. The fifth duke greatly improved the gardens under the direction of Richard Forrest, the best English gardener of the nineteenth century before the days of Paxton. There is a great range of plant glass-houses, 400 ft. in length, with a dome 65 ft. high in the centre. The kitchen gardens, which cover four acres, also contain much glass. On the whole, the gardens of

Syon House may be safely pronounced to be among the best in the kingdom.

On the title-page of Aungier's work appears an engraving of a beautiful late fifteenth century doorway from Syon Convent, presumably, at the date of the publication, standing somewhere in the grounds of Syon House; but the Editor much regrets that he was unable to get the Duke of Northumberland's permission to visit the grounds and make a sketch of these remains, if still existing, and is thus precluded from illustrating them in this chapter.—ED.

CHISWICK HOUSE

By R. Phené Spiers, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.

THE earliest record of Chiswick House is that made by John Bowack in *The Antiquities of Middlesex* (1705-6), in which he states that "in a lane north-east of Chiswick Church is a noble ancient seat built by Sir Edward Warden after the ancient manner." Of Sir Edward Warden nothing is known, but the mansion referred to is shown in one of Knyff's drawings engraved by Kip, both of them Dutch artists. As in the title underneath it is described as the property of the Rt. Honourable Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, Knyff's drawing may have been made shortly after its purchase by him. The house is in the Jacobean style, and was probably built in the early part of the seventeenth century. In the latter part of the reign of James I. it is known to have been the property of Robert, Earl of Somerset, whose daughter married Lord Russell. There was considerable opposition to the match on the part of his father, the Earl of Bedford, and it was not until the substantial dowry of £12,000 had been raised that he assented to it. In order, however, to raise that sum, the Earl of Somerset had to heavily mortgage the property to Philip, Earl of Pembroke, who afterwards foreclosed the mortgage and entered into possession.

After passing through various hands, it was bought by the first Earl of Burlington in 1685. This transfer is also recorded by Bowack, who says: "In this seat formerly dwelt James, Duke of Monmouth" (he was a tenant only),

"it was afterwards purchased by the Rt. Honourable the Earl of Burlington, where he lived and died, his son [it should be his grandson], the late Earl, used commonly to dwell there during the summer season." The latter died in 1703, whilst the third Earl, who was born in 1695, was still a minor, and it was not till some years after his return, in 1716, from his extensive travels through Italy, that he turned his attention to the development of the estate. He had probably already, when travelling through Italy,

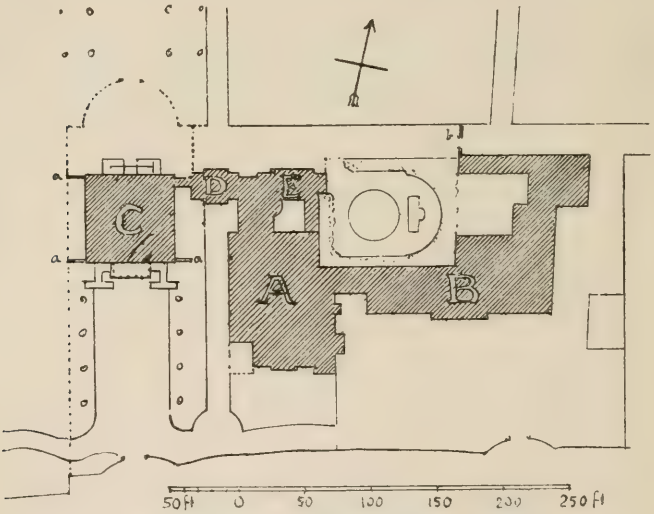
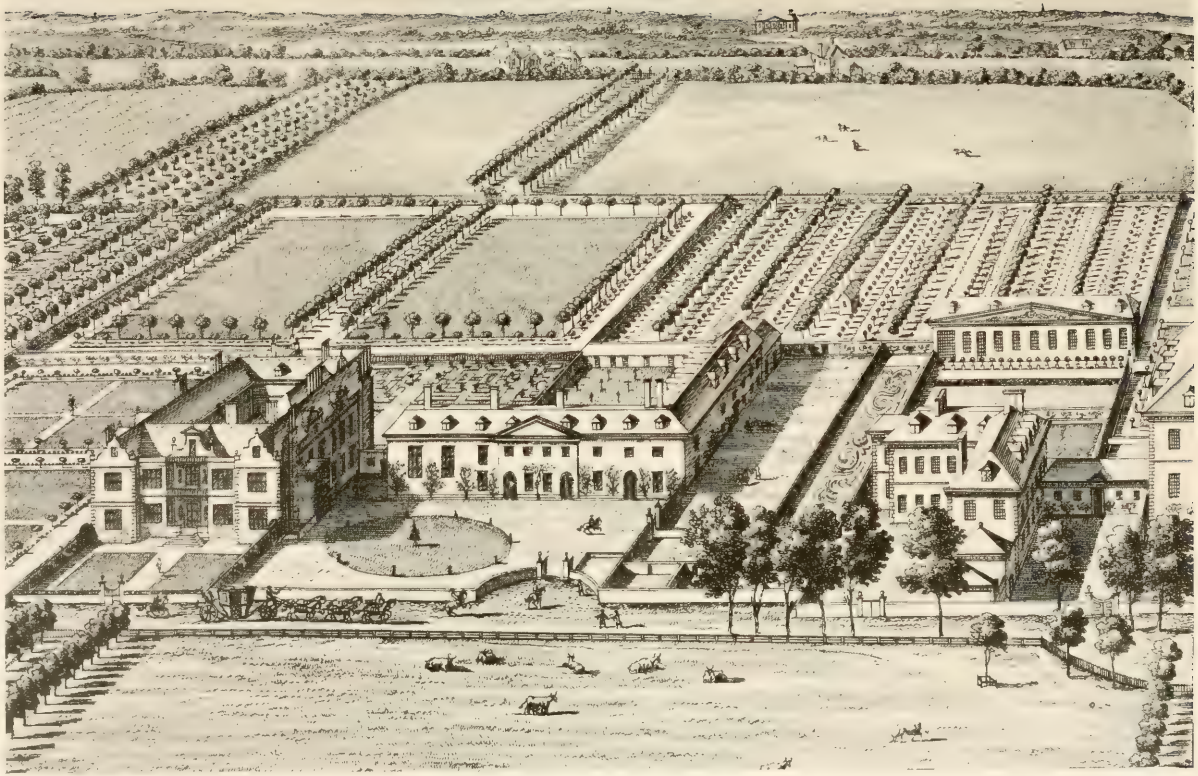


FIG. 21.—ROCQUE'S PLAN OF OLD HOUSE.

commenced the acquisition of the collection of pictures and antique statues and busts which subsequently decorated the new house he built at Chiswick, known as the Villa, the structures adjoining it, and the large gardens to the front and rear and on the west side.

With the exception of the general laying out of the estate, the houses adjoining and the fields beyond, which Knyff's view suggests, the earliest plan is that published by Rocque in 1750. In this plan the complete transformation of the whole site, including large additions



[From a drawing] CHISWICK HOUSE. [by Knyff.

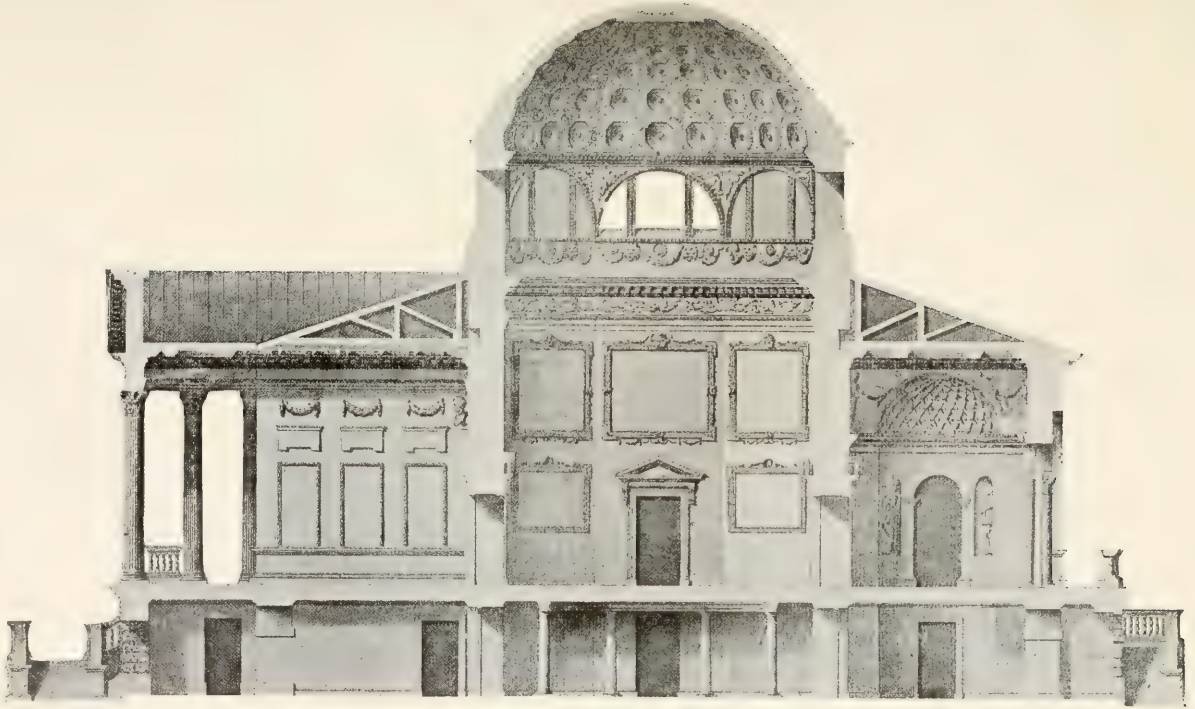
to its extent, is shown. We find on it the Villa and its approaches, the formal and English gardens in the rear, the serpentine lake, or canal, as it is sometimes called, and the numerous structures erected at the ends of avenues, most of which have disappeared.

The block plan (fig. 21) taken from Rocque shows the relative positions of the main structures in 1750. A is the Jacobean house, from which a portion of the left wing is missing; this is probably the portion which was burnt down, possibly in the beginning of the eighteenth century. B The outbuildings, containing the kitchen and offices, stables, etc., the elevation of which is shown in Knyff's drawing. C The Villa, a detached structure except for a passage of communication, constructed to connect it, through other rooms, with the old house. D An entrance-hall towards the garden, above which, on the first floor, was a drawing-room. E The summer parlour. The last three buildings were all erected from the designs of William Kent, Lord Burlington's architect, and form a fine frontage 225 feet long.

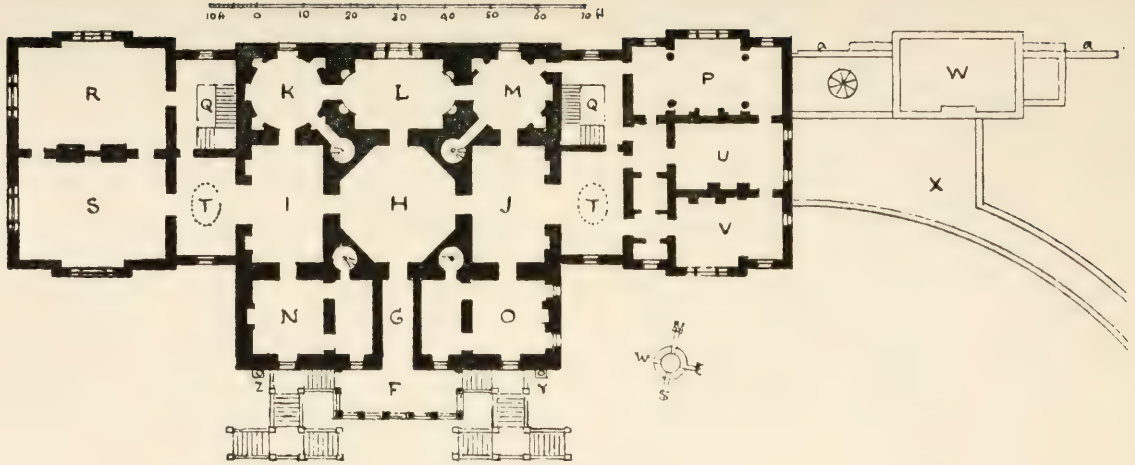
The Earl of Burlington, as is well known, had during his travels through Italy conceived the greatest admiration for the works of Palladio at Vicenza and elsewhere. He not only acquired all the measured drawings which had been made by Palladio of the Roman Thermæ and other monuments, and the studies for palaces and villas built by Palladio, but he published many of the latter at his own expense. Lord Burlington's interest in the introduction of the Palladian, which used to be known as the Italian style, but is now called the Later Renaissance, extended to Inigo Jones and others who followed in the same direction, and he collected also all their drawings. All these drawings, constituting the Burlington-Devonshire collection, formerly preserved in the Villa, are now in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, having been transferred by the late Duke of Devonshire to the care of that Society.

The model of the Villa which was built in 1729 was based on a villa near Vicenza, which was designed by Palladio for the Marquis Capra, and has served as a type for numerous structures of a similar description, not only in England, at Chiswick and Mereworth, but in France, being the plan of the original château of Bagatelle, near Paris. The Villa Capra is now more or less of a ruin, but drawings of it are published in a work by O. B. Scamozzi, 1796.

Comparison of the two designs shows many divergencies, some of which are suggested by the difference in climate; others constitute distinct improvements. In the Villa Capra an Ionic portico with six columns in front formed the central feature on each of the four elevations, with a simple flight of steps in front of each. In the Chiswick Villa there is only one portico on the main entrance front facing south, with a double flight of steps on each side leading up to it, a much more picturesque feature. The sides of the portico of the Villa Capra consisted of a wall with responds only behind the column. In the Chiswick Villa a column is placed in the rear of the angle column, giving a lighter and much finer effect. On the garden side, a double flight of steps running parallel with the rear elevation led up to the first floor. In the place of the central lantern and stepped roof of the Villa Capra, Kent covered his central hall by an octagonal dome with semicircular-headed windows in four of the sides, giving much better light to the hall, and enabling him to decorate the vault over the same with a series of five rows of sunk moulded coffers with flowers in them. The central hall at Vicenza was circular; Kent made his octagonal. The greatest difference in the plan of the first floor is shown in the design of the three rooms on the north side (fig. 22), in which Kent has produced an admirable conception most carefully studied, which contrasts with the commonplace arrangement at the Villa Capra. The interior of the circular room on the



From a drawing in the] CHISWICK VILLA: SECTION THROUGH DOME. [*library of the R.I.B.A.*



REFERENCES TO PLAN.

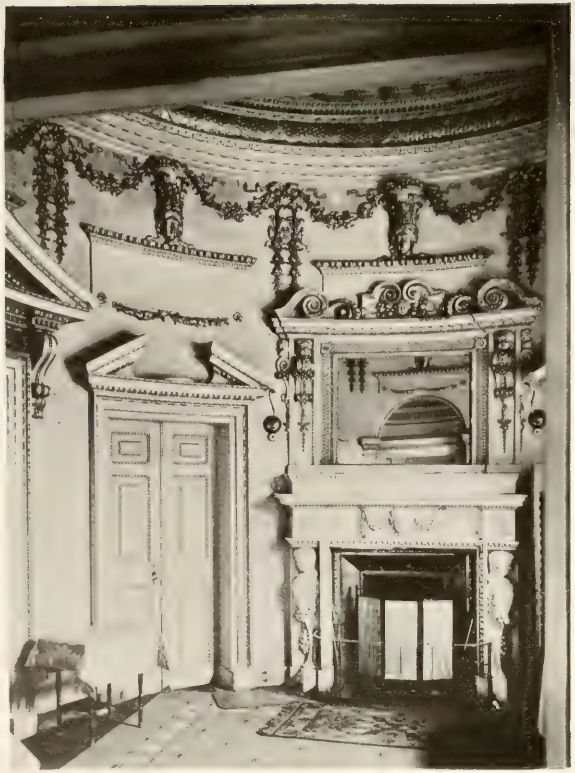
F	Portico.	M	Octagon Room.	T	Ante Rooms.
G	Vestibule.	N	Bed Room.	U	Dressing Room.
H	The Saloon.	O	Bed Room.	V	Bed Room.
I, J	Ante Rooms.	P	Drawing Room.	W	Lead Flat on Summer Parlour.
K	Circular Room.	Q	Staircases.	X	Corridor Roof.
L	Parlour.	R, S	Reception Rooms.	Y	Statue of Inigo Jones.
				Z	Statue of Palladio.

FIG. 22.—PLAN OF PRESENT BUILDING.

left, or west, side and of the central room are shown in the illustration on the opposite page. The ornamental details are extremely vigorous, and the decorated ceiling of the latter has preserved its rich colouring, so that it forms one of the gems of the Villa.

The erection of a type of building so novel as the Villa naturally excited a great deal of interest and some sarcasm, Lord Hervey stating "that it was too small to live in, and too large to hang on one's watch-chain." But it was not built to live in, the Earl still possessing the Jacobean house, which, so far as comfort is concerned, was probably much more suited to English requirements and tastes. Whilst recalling to the Earl the recollection of one of Palladio's works which he had seen and admired, the building was erected to hold some of the art treasures which he had acquired in Italy. Antique statues and busts were placed in the various niches, and, as we know, the walls of the rooms were hung with pictures, some of great beauty. It is true that the great connoisseur, Dr. Waagen, when he visited Chiswick in 1838, expressed his regret that some of the pictures could not be properly seen on account of the defective lighting; but that remark might extend to more than half the galleries in our large country houses, so that in that respect some allowance must be made for the Earl.

By the side of the staircase shown in the illustration will be seen a statue raised on a plinth. It represents Palladio, and on the opposite side is a similar figure of Inigo Jones. These two statues were probably intended for the niches of the return flanks of the projecting wings of Burlington House; they were, however, too big for the niches provided, and were sent to Chiswick, where no proper architectural arrangement had been made for them. On the left of the statue on the angle of the side of the Villa is a pilaster strip. This was part of a spur wall which projected some eleven or twelve feet east and west of the four angles of the Villa. These spur walls are shown in a



THE CIRCULAR ROOM.

THE MIDDLE ROOM.

CHISWICK VILLA.

drawing by J. Donnowell with an iron railing between them, which was continued down to the entrance-gates on both sides in front and formed enclosures in the rear of the Villa. They were probably found necessary to prevent the deer in the park encroaching on either of the staircases. These spur walls were crowned by a plain projecting band with a cresting of five ball finials. On the north side of the Villa they masked the lower part of the passage leading from the Villa to the garden entrance-hall. The Earl's known predilection for symmetry, however, led to a similar feature being built on the other side of the garden entrance-hall, where they are shown on old prints. The subsequent history of these spur walls will be referred to later on. These ball finials would seem to have been a favourite device with the Earl, as they appear on the wall which flanks Inigo Jones's gate.

As will be seen from the block plan (fig. 21), the site chosen for the Villa was set back considerably behind that of the Jacobean house, in order to obtain a more dignified approach; but as the Earl desired to isolate the Villa as much as possible, so that it could be seen on all sides, and at the same time provide a communication with the Jacobean house, a narrow connecting passage only was built at the north-east angle, and a suite of three other rooms was built beyond, making a fine north frontage.

The first room (D) was an entrance-hall from the garden, the second an ante-room lighted by top light, and the third (E) was a dining-room of fine design, which is now known as the summer parlour. This was of one story only, as also the ante-room, but above the garden entrance-hall was a drawing-room, the plan of which is shown in fig. 22. Additional importance was given to the summer parlour by its height, greater than that of the ground story of the Villa and garden entrance-hall, and it was surmounted with a parapet wall crowned by finials in the shape of vases. It was flanked also with walls of less height, in which niches were sunk to receive busts. These,

which still exist, and are shown in the view, are fine marble busts of the Roman Emperors Nero and Otho, and though exposed now for about one hundred and eighty years to the English unfavourable climate, are still in excellent preservation. Behind these rooms were others connected with the Jacobean house, as shown on block plan.

William Kent, Lord Burlington's architect, is said to have been an indifferent painter, a fair architect, and an excellent landscape gardener. So far as the first craft is concerned, little is known of his work, but in 1713 he is said to have carried off the Pope's annual prize for a painting. Judging by his architectural work at Chiswick alone, he was certainly an architect of no mean capacity; the design for the principal front of the Villa shows that he possessed a good sense of proportion and an accurate knowledge of the Corinthian order, which he employed for the portico; in the double staircases of the north and south fronts he displays considerable originality, whilst in the scheme of his plan and the decorative design of the interior he certainly equals, if he does not surpass, the work of his distinguished predecessor, Palladio.

In the third craft, the laying out of estates, he is said to have been the first to introduce into England a combination of the Italian garden and the English pleasure garden. His talent in this respect is well set forth in the development of the Earl's estate at Chiswick. It is probable that already in Italy, where his noble client first met him, he may under his guidance have commenced his studies in the Italian style, where figure sculpture and decorative features either in the shape of vases, pedestals, and balustrades, or small temples, pavilions, and obelisks, employed in conjunction with long avenues of trees, or clipped hedges of yew and myrtle, emphasise and give more importance to the termination of their vistas. In the immense garden which he laid out on the north and west sides of the Villa, as shown in Rocque's plan of 1750, he introduces the Italian and English systems.

Chiswick Villa: South Front.

Long vistas in front of the principal rooms of the Villa are laid out with green swards, flanked by avenues of cedar or lime trees, or gravel paths between hedges of clipped yew, in the former case terminated with semi-circular alcoves in cut myrtle, with niches filled with statues or vases in the latter; three paths diverged from a centre, resulting in the geometrical subdivision of varied shapes, in which paths were laid out winding between trees of many kinds, which gave an appearance of great extent, a system which is more or less confined to English gardens. In front of the centre of the Villa was a great avenue 400 feet long, with a double row of cedars and lime trees, terminated by a semicircular exedra formed of cut myrtle, in the niches of which were placed vases and antique statues, three of which, representing Cæsar, Pompey and Cicero, brought from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, are still *in situ*. In front of the garden entrance was a gravel path with lime trees, 420 feet long, leading to a centre from which converged three avenues of clipped yew, some 600 feet long, leading on the left to an Italian pavilion in two stories, in the centre to a temple of the Corinthian order, and on the right to an arbour in rusticated masonry. The two former structures and avenues are gone, but the arbour still exists, with clipped yew hedge, 16 feet high, and is now known as Napoleon's walk, the name being given probably on account of a bust of Napoleon placed in a niche at the back of the arbour.

Another path led on the right to a building called the orangery, of which the plan only is preserved, and north of this is a circular stone basin with a Doric column in the centre, the entablature of which is said to be antique, and on the top was originally a copy of the Medicean Venus.

On the opposite side of the grounds is another large stone basin, with an obelisk raised on a pedestal in the centre, on the east side of which is a series of terraces

rising one above another like a small amphitheatre, planted with cypress and bay trees, and on the west side is a circular temple, covered with a dome, and a portico of the Ionic order facing the east. All these features still exist in the grounds.

Before passing on to the serpentine lake beyond this temple, reference should be made to the Inigo Jones gateway, erected at the east end of the gravel walk on the garden front of the Villa (B on block plan). This gateway was originally built in 1621, from the design of Inigo Jones, in the grounds of Beaufort House, Chelsea, where it formed the entrance from the King's Road, as may be seen in Knyff's view made about 1695. Beaufort House was sold in 1736 to Sir Hans Sloane, who, knowing Lord Burlington's admiration of Inigo Jones's work, presented it to him in the following year. The gateway is shown in the frontispiece, and bears the following inscription on panels: on the left, "Builded by Inigo Jones at Chelsea, MDCXXI," and on the right, "Given by Sir Hans Sloane Baronet to the Earl of Burlington, MDCCXXXVII."

On the west side of the estate Lord Burlington excavated a serpentine lake over 2,000 feet long and 60 feet wide, expanding to over 200 feet at the north end, in which two islands were left. The earth taken out was deposited in a long mound on the south side of the estate, being raised sufficiently high to obtain a view therefrom of the Thames. The lake was supplied with water running from the Bollo brook, the overflow running into the Thames. Across the centre of the lake was a small bridge in wood, leading to a second garden, also laid out with avenues and winding paths. The principal feature on this side is an obelisk close to the west gate. The pedestal of this obelisk was designed to incorporate two figures which formed part of the Arundel Marbles. These were given to Lord Burlington by a Mr. Theobald, a description of their acquisition being given in the

CHISWICK VILLA: THE OBELISK.

Gentleman's Magazine of July, 1769. The pedestal was probably designed by Kent, and a slight curve was given to the cornice and plinth to meet the convexity of the bas-relief.

Starting from the obelisk were three diverging avenues flanked with magnificent ilex trees, one of which on the right commanded a view of the temple, a second led to the bridge, and the third no longer exists. As on the other side of the lake, all the gardens are laid out with winding paths and shrubberies, which deceive you as to their real extent. A portion only of the estate on this, the south-west side, is shown in Rocque's plan, but drawn round the border of the same are views of all the buildings referred to, and others which have long since passed away. It forms a record, therefore, of the splendid development of the estate in 1750.

On the death of the great Earl in 1753, Chiswick House passed into the possession of William, the fourth Duke of Devonshire, who had married his daughter and heiress, and who does not seem to have made any further additions; but his successor, the fifth Duke, who succeeded to the title in 1764, called in James Wyatt, R.A., the architect, who in 1788 pulled down the Jacobean house and added two wings to the Villa. For the external design of these wings he adopted that employed by Kent on the east side of the Villa, but he took away the pediment of the central projecting bay (D on block plan) and added another story; he also took down the projecting balcony in the centre of this bay, and replaced the windows and the niches which flanked it with a Palladian window of three lights similar to those of the Villa.

The new western wing was then built to correspond with the eastern wing. These two wings were made fifty feet deep, which enabled Wyatt to obtain on the first floor two large rooms (R S) in the west wing, and two rooms (U and V) of less depth in the rear of Kent's drawing-room. Between the Villa and the two new wings, staircases,

(Q Q) were built inside, which probably enabled Wyatt to take away the great external flight of steps on the north side.

The building of the new wings necessitated the destruction of the spur walls (*a a* on block plan) with cresting over, to which reference has been made. Of these there were three on the north front. This gave a lop-sided effect to the summer parlour (E), which still retained the spur wall on the west side, so Wyatt built another spur wall on the east side, as shown on the plan (fig. 22), for the sake of symmetry. One other alteration was made, but whether by Wyatt or at a later date is not known. An entrance doorway from the garden was formed in the ante-room. The kitchen and offices were then located in the old building (B on block plan) and a quadrant corridor built to communicate with them, other rooms on the ground floor and bedrooms above being arranged on the north front of the old building.

The fine stone bridge which now crosses the lake in the place of Lord Burlington's timber bridge was probably also built from the design of James Wyatt, whose work would seem to have occupied the remainder of the century.

In 1812 another important addition to the estate was made by the sixth Duke of Devonshire. After mentioning the Jacobean house "built after the ancient manner," Bowack says: "near adjoining is a very beautiful seat built by Sir Stephen Fox, after the modern manner, the model being altogether new." Sir Stephen Fox purchased in 1685 an estate on which he built a house in the Italian style, forming, therefore, a great contrast to the Jacobean house. This house was visited afterwards by King William, who was so pleased with it that he said he "could live five days there." This house was subsequently sold to the Earl Morton, who called it Morton Hall, and was afterwards disposed of to Lady Mary Coke. The

NORTH FRONT.

CHISWICK VILLA.

SUMMER PARLOUR.

house was pulled down in 1812, and its site, together with the extensive garden to the rear, was bought by the sixth Duke and added to the grounds of Chiswick House. In Miss Berry's journal is an entry on June 7th, 1813: "Drove with Duke of Devonshire in his curricle to Chiswick, where he showed me all the alterations he was going to make in adding the gardens of Lady Mary Coke's house to his own. The house is down, and in the gardens he has constructed a magnificent hot-house with a conservatory for flowers, the middle under a cupola altogether 300 feet long." This conservatory still exists, and is built on the site of the garden shown on the extreme right in Knyff's view.[1] About one hundred feet in the rear of the conservatory and in its central axis are two gate piers of rubbed brick, with remarkably fine jointing, which must be at least coeval with Morton Hall, and may either have been those of an entrance-gate from the road shown in Knyff's drawing, or have led to another garden beyond.

The conservatory was raised on a low terrace with steps leading down to an immense semicircular enclosure of yew hedge, planted with a formal garden, and, probably from other parts of Lord Burlington's garden, some of the herms and vases were transported to it. On either side of the steps leading down from the terrace are two fine stone vases carved with figure bas-reliefs on richly carved pedestals. To the north-east of the conservatory are other piers of later date and lodges, which suggest that a further extension of the grounds was made at some time, so as to obtain the fine avenue flanked with a double row of trees on either side, now forming the principal entrance to the Villa. Originally the main entrance was

[1] Between the house there shown and the Jacobean mansion is another house, which might already have been purchased by Lord Burlington, but it is not shown on Rocque's plan. On its site at present is an ancient building, which up to 1892 was used as a laundry, but it does not quite accord with the example shown in Knyff's drawing.

in Burlington Lane, opposite the south front, and the approach was flanked by pine trees. Herms in stone, pedestals with sphinxes, and other sculptures, among them a goat by Rysbrack, lined the avenue. Owing, however, to the comparatively short distance between the entrance-gate and the house, the Duke of Devonshire obtained an Act of Parliament in 1828 which enabled him to shift the road some 300 feet to the south. The old piers were then removed further east on either side of the road, close to a second entrance from Burlington Lane.

When the alterations were made the old cascade at the south end of the lake was taken away, and the lake extended, the earth taken out of the same being deposited in continuation of the original mound, thus blocking up any view of the Villa from the new road. A group, Samson killing a Philistine with a jaw-bone, by Scheemakers, in lead, now stands in front of this mound and facing the Villa.

The famous gates of Chiswick House, now in front of Devonshire House, Piccadilly, were purchased by the Duke of Devonshire in 1837. They formed the principal entrance of Heathfield House, Turnham Green, a messuage bought by Lord Viscount Dunkerron in 1747, who built the house. They subsequently, in 1765, passed into the possession of the Earl of Egmont, who may have bought and erected the gates, as they formerly contained his crest and arms, the ironwork, however, being probably forty or fifty years older. In 1789 the house was purchased by Lord Heathfield, the defender of Gibraltar, who died there in the following year. In 1837 the estate was broken up, and the gates were brought to Chiswick House, where they formed the principal entrance to the great avenue leading from Burlington Avenue, originally known as the Duke's Road. The original piers were left, and may still be seen in front of the parsonage of Turnham Green, and new piers of fine design, with two screen walls, were built on either side of the main entrance.

These piers and the gates were in 1897 taken down and set up in front of Devonshire House, Piccadilly. Some portion of the ironwork, however, has been removed, as the width between the piers of Heathfield House is 30 feet, whereas at Chiswick, and now in Piccadilly, the gate is only 27 feet wide. The design of the gates loses in consequence, and it is a misfortune that they were not set back some four or five feet into the courtyard of Devonshire House, to give them a more dignified position, instead of being in the same plane as the Piccadilly wall.

Earlier in the century two great statesmen died in Chiswick House. Charles James Fox, the grandson of Sir Stephen Fox, breathed his last towards the end of August, 1806, in the room marked O on the plan, and in the same month in 1826 George Canning passed away after a fortnight's illness in a room on an upper floor (over the room marked J), which had been selected by him because he heard that it had been temporarily occupied by the Duke, and thought, therefore, it would be well aired. A description of these two rooms is given in Lady Chatterton's *Home Sketches and Foreign Recollections*, published in 1840.

In 1814 the sixth Duke of Devonshire entertained the Russian Emperor Alexander and other royalties at Chiswick House. A still more important fête, however, was given on June 8th, 1844, when the Duke was honoured by the presence of the Russian Emperor Nicholas, the King of Saxony, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, and the Duchess of Gloucester. On this occasion a tent was fitted inside the summer parlour, thus hiding Kent's fine ceiling and chimney-piece; fortunately the interior of the Villa was saved from such desecration, possibly because it contained too fine a collection of works of art. An unusual diversion was given by the presence of some giraffes, which, coming from the Surrey Zoological Garden and being about to be sent to St. Petersburg, were

brought down to the gardens, and located on the opposite bank of the serpentine lake ; one of these giraffes, however, to the delight of the guests, waded across the lake in order to be fed by them.

It would seem that at one time there was a sort of menagerie in the park, and Sir Walter Scott in his diary tells us that on May 17th, 1828, he "drove to Chiswick, where a numerous and gay party were enabled to walk and enjoy the beauties of that Palladian dome. The place and ornamental gardens belonging to it resemble a picture of Watteau. The scene was dignified by the presence of an immense elephant, who, under the charge of a groom, wandered up and down, giving an air of Asiatic pageantry to the entertainment."

Between 1866 and 1879 H.M. King Edward VII., when Prince of Wales, spent many summers in the house and grounds, which were much enjoyed by his young family, and in 1879-1892 it was occupied by the late Marquis of Bute, to whom the fine collection of pictures and statuary would have been an attraction. These have all since 1892 been removed by the late Duke of Devonshire to Chatsworth and other seats of his Grace, the house and grounds being then taken for a private lunatic asylum by two well-known specialists, Drs. Seymour and Charles Molesworth Tuke, whose grandfather, Dr. Edward Francis Tuke, is stated by Faulkner, writing in 1845, to have occupied the Manor Farm House in Chiswick Lane as a medical asylum. He was succeeded by his son, Dr. Harrington Tuke, so that there have been in Chiswick three generations of doctor specialists in lunacy.

THE PARKS AND HISTORIC HOUSES

By the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE *Domesday Survey* shows clearly that Middlesex was well wooded in the eleventh century right up to the gates of the city of London. There was, however, contrary to the usual careless statements, no stretch of royal forest in the county. The Crown lands were very small, and the two best wooded districts, Enfield with its park and Harrow, were in the respective possession of Geoffrey de Mandeville and the Archbishop of Canterbury. There was a royal warren, extending from Staines to Hounslow, as early as Henry II.; but this lost the degree of forest privileges pertaining to warrens in 1227.

It was at Enfield Chase, in the north-east of the county, that the woodland of Middlesex chiefly prevailed for many centuries. A park is mentioned at Enfield as early as the eleventh century. The great district of Enfield Chase, extending over considerable parts of the parishes of Enfield, Edmonton, Hadley, and South Mimms, had two large enclosed parks at a later period. Norden says of the open Chase, in 1596, that it was "a solitary desert, yet stocked with not less than 3,000 deere." The Chase was disafforested in 1777.

Sexton's map of Middlesex in 1575 shows the two parks and the Chase of Enfield, as well as the parks of "Mariburne" (Marylebone, afterwards Regent's Park)

and Hyde. Norden's *Survey* of 1596 is full of praise of the noble and well-timbered parks of Middlesex, and names ten that belonged to Her Majesty, namely, St. James's, Hyde, Marylebone, Hanworth, Kempton, Hampton Court (2), Enfield (2), and Twickenham (then recently disparked).

For the purpose of enumerating the parks of Middlesex proper—concerning which and the great houses within them it is proposed to give some brief details—it may be well to refer to the comparatively modern map of the county issued by Crutchley in 1824. On this map twenty-five parks are outlined, namely, those of Beech Hill, Bentley, Boston, Bushey, Bush Hill, Canons, Cranford, Forty Hall, Hanwell, Hanworth, Harefield, Hillingdon, Kempton, Laleham, Littleton, Osterley, Stanwell, Swakeleys, Trent, Twickenham, Twyford, Wembley, Whitton, and Wrotham.

To this list should be added White Webbs, one of the four parks which include parts of the old Chase of Enfield, the other three being Bush Hill Park, Forty Hall, and Trent. Southgate, too, has three other parks which ought, perhaps, to be included in the same category, for, as the name implies, this was the southern entrance to the Chase. These parks are known as Arno's Grove, Broomfield House, and Grovelands. There is yet one more park which must not be overlooked, namely, Gunnersbury, in Ealing parish.

Parks such as Hyde Park, Green Park, and Marylebone or Regent's Park, St. James's Park and Kensington Gardens, are royal and public parks, with which we are not concerned, but Highgate park-like enclosures ought to be included in this essay.

ARNOLD'S or ARNO'S GROVE, Southgate, so called in all probability after an early possessor, was an old seat of the Weld family, built by Sir John Weld in the reign of James I. It stood in an extensive park. The house, or court, as it was usually termed, was demolished

in the reign of George I. The estate was purchased in 1720 by Mr. James Colebrooke. His son, Sir George Colebrooke, caused the house to be rebuilt on a somewhat imposing scale. It is figured and described at length in the *Beauties of England* (1816). The grounds and park, "adorned in venerable timber," at that time included about two hundred acres. The grounds of Arno's Grove are now of very limited extent, but to the north of New Southgate, and bounded on the north by Pymme's brook, is a wood of several acres, known as Arno's Grove Wood.

Immediately to the north of this brook is a small piece of woodland known as Minchenden Wood. Minchenden House, close to the grounds of Arno's Grove, was the country seat in the eighteenth century of the second Duke of Chandos, after Canons had been demolished. It was pulled down about 1850. Here stood the Minchenden Oak (sometimes called the Chandos Oak), said to have had the widest spread of branches (118 feet in diameter) of any English oak. It is figured in Strutt's *Sylvia*, and also in Loudon's *Arboretum*.

BUSH HILL PARK, near the western extremity of old Enfield Chase, bordering upon Hadley Common on the verge of Hertfordshire, and partly within it, has been technically included in that county since 1894. It was an estate of nearly 700 acres, which was granted to Mr. Francis Russell, sometime Surveyor-General and Secretary to the Duchy of Lancaster, through whose suggestion the final enclosure of the Chase in 1777 was brought about. Mr. Thorne, writing in 1876, described the park of this estate, which had then dwindled to 270 acres, as "open and charmingly situated; but far too many of the old trees have been converted into timber."

BENTLEY PRIORY, in the parish of Great Stanmore, was a small house of Austin Canons. On the suppression of the lesser monasteries this property was transferred to the monks of St. Gregory, Canterbury, but in 1543

it was exchanged by Cranmer with Henry VIII. for other lands. The King, in 1546, granted it to Robert Needham and William Sacheverell, and they in the following year transferred it to Elizabeth Colte. After passing, like so many monastic lands, through many hands, it was sold in 1788 by James Duberly, an army clothier, to the first Marquis of Abercorn. The marquis made great extensions and alterations in the park, and commissioned Sir John Soane to rebuild the house, which he fitted up after a sumptuous fashion, adding a large gallery of fine paintings. In the rebuilt mansion of Bentley Priory, the first marquis entertained on a lavish scale, his guests including the leading fashionable, political, artistic, and literary men of the times. Among them may be named Addington, Canning, Pitt, Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Sir Walter Scott. It is said that the proof-sheets of *Marmion* were revised by Scott in a summer-house near the lake in 1807. When Louis XVIII. left his place of exile at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, to re-ascend the throne of France in 1814, it was at Bentley Priory that he met the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia. During the latter half of the reign of George III. the priory was the principal rendezvous of the Tory party. The Dowager Queen Adelaide leased the priory from April, 1848, until her death, which occurred here on December 2nd, 1849. In 1852 the house and estate were purchased of the Hamilton family by Sir John Kelk, the railway engineer, who is said to have spent £9,000 on the conservatories alone. In 1883-4 it passed into the hands of an hotel company, and serves at the present time as a private school.

There are some fine interior features about this large house. The entrance hall has a groined roof supported on fluted classic columns. The grand staircase is of Portland stone, with a well-carved oak balustrade. The

state rooms are about twenty feet in height. The park, somewhat reduced in size, now covers about 250 acres. It contains an abundance of fine timber, and is beautifully diversified. There is a full account of Bentley Priory in the *Builder* of July 2nd, 1881.

BOSTON (Bordeston or Burston) manor, in the parish of Brentford, formerly pertained to the priory of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. It was granted in 1547 to Protector Somerset, and on his attainder reverted to the Crown. Elizabeth granted it in 1572 to the Earl of Leicester, by whom it was immediately sold to Sir Thomas Gresham. Afterwards it passed to Sir William Read, Gresham's stepson, and was eventually purchased, in 1670, by James Clitherow, a distinguished London merchant, in whose family it still continues. Boston House, standing in sixty acres of grounds, about a mile to the north-west of the town of Brentford, was built by Lady Read in 1622, but it was materially improved and altered by Mr. Clitherow in 1671. In the elaborate plaster ceiling of the great drawing-room (41 feet by 20 feet) are Lady Read's initials, "M. R." The house contains many valuable portraits by Vandyke, Lely, Romney, and Kneller.

BROOMFIELD HOUSE was an old hunting lodge of James I. The walls and ceilings of the great oak staircase are adorned with paintings by Sir James Thornhill. The park-like grounds of eighty acres surrounding the house were purchased in 1903 by the Middlesex County Council for £25,000. They are now maintained as a public park and recreation ground.

BUSHEY PARK, with an area of 994 acres, in conjunction with the 752 acres of the Home Park of Hampton Court, might well be treated of in a monograph of some size. Here it must suffice to say that in early days these parks formed part of the wild district of Hounslow Heath. Both of these splendidly timbered parks were inclosed by Henry VIII. within brick walls. The great

herd of fallow-deer in Bushey Park has during recent years been considerably reduced, and now numbers about four hundred and fifty. Part of the Bushey herd was transferred in 1900 to the Home Park, where the average number is about one hundred and fifty. The red deer of Bushey average forty-five. The glorious avenue of chestnuts, for which Bushey Park is so justly celebrated, is fifty-six yards wide and one mile forty yards long. The great avenues of lime trees that radiate from the centre of the east front of Hampton Court were planted soon after the Restoration.

BUSH HILL PARK, between Edmonton and Enfield, was formerly the seat of the Sambrooke family, and afterwards of William Mellish, M.P. for Middlesex. It was a large brick house standing in a spacious and well-timbered park, intersected by the New River. It was pulled down about twenty-five years ago, and the park divided up for building purposes.

CANONS, in the parish of Whitchurch, was thus called because it belonged to the Austin Canons of the celebrated London priory of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. This manor and estate came into the hands of Sir Thomas Lake, a Secretary of State to James I. His great-granddaughter, Mary Lake, brought the estate by marriage, in 1710, to James Brydges, afterwards Duke of Chandos. The duke had been Paymaster to the Forces during the wars of Queen Anne, and had amassed a vast and an illicit fortune as his share of the deficit of thirty-five millions disclosed by a Parliamentary Committee in 1711. The new owner pulled down the admirable house built for Sir Thomas Lake by the great architect Thorpe. On the speedy erection of its successor and the laying out of the park and grounds, the duke lavished money without stint, employing as architects Gibbs, Sheppard, and James of Greenwich. The work began in 1712, the north front of this vast square mansion being built by Strong, the mason of St. Paul's.

The best and most appreciative account of the splendour of Canons is that given by Defoe in his *Tour throughout Great Britain*, first published in 1725:—

This Palace is so Beautiful in its Situation, so Lofty, so Majestick the Appearance of it, that a Pen can but ill describe it, the Pencil not much better; 'tis only fit to be talk'd of upon the very Spot, when the Building is under View, to be consider'd in all its Parts. The Fronts are all of Freestone, the Columns and Pilasters are lofty and beautiful, the Windows very high, with all possible Ornaments: The Pilasters running flush up to the Cornish and Architrave, their Capitals seem as so many Supporters to the fine Statues which stand on the Top, and crown the whole; in a word, the whole Structure is built with such a Profusion of Expence, and all finish'd with such a Brightness of Fancy, Goodness of Judgment; that I can assure you, we see many Palaces of Sovereign Princes abroad which do not equal it, which yet pass for very fine too, either within or without. And as it is a Noble and well contriv'd Building; so it is as well set out, and no Ornament is wanting to make it the finest House in England. The Plastering and Guilding is done by the Famous Pargotti, an Italian said to be the finest Artist in those particular Works now in England. The great Salon or Hall is painted by Paolucci, for the Duke spared no cost to have every thing as Rich as possible. The Pillars supporting the building are all of Marble. The great Staircase is the finest by far of any in England; and the Steps are all of Marble, every Step being of one whole Piece, about 22 Foot in Length. . . .

It is in vain to attempt to describe the Beauties of this Building at Cannons; the whole is a Beauty, and as the Firmament is a Glorious Mantle filled with, or as it were made up of a Concurrence of lesser Glories the Stars; so every part of this Building adds to the Beauty of the whole. The Avenue is spacious and Majestick, and as it gives you the view of the two Fronts, join'd as it were in one, the Distance not admitting you to see the Angle, which is in the Centre; so you are agreeably drawn in to think the Front of the House almost twice as large as it really is.

And yet when you come nearer you are again surprized, by seeing the Winding Passage opening as it were a new Front to the Eye, of near 120 foot wide, which you had not seen before, so that you are lost awhile in looking near hand for what you so evidently saw a great way off. . . . Canons was not three Years a building and bringing the Gardens and all to the most finished Beauty we now see it in. The Gardens are so well designed and have so vast a variety, and the Canals are so large that they are not to be outdone in England.

After writing of the royally furnished interior of this wondrous house, with its chapel and library, its choir

and orchestra, which played daily at dinner, and its household of one hundred and twenty servants, Defoe returns to the gardens, grounds, and park, describing the chief avenue as nearly a mile in length,

> planted with two double rows of Trees, and the middle Walk broad enough for a Troop of Horse to march in Front; in the middle Way there is a large Basin or Fountain of Water, and the Coaches drive round it on either Side; there are three other Avenues exceeding fine, but not so very large.

The fourth epistle in Pope's series of *Moral Essays*, "Of the Use of Riches," was first published, under the title of "False Taste," in 1731. The poet had himself been received at Canons by the Duke of Chandos with respect and kindness; but in a subsequent fit of spleen and probable lack of the munificent patronage he had anticipated, Pope gave way to the most odious and embittered personalities against the duke, whilst his house and gardens were held up to ridicule. "Timon," of the epistle, was almost universally identified as Chandos, and so great was the outcry raised against Pope for the meanness and malice of his satire that he endeavoured to contradict the rumour by a series of petty equivocations. Pope's verse, however, respecting the short-lived magnificence of Canons, proved to be prophetic. He wrote:—

> Another age shall see the golden ear
> Embrace the slope, and nod on the parterre:
> Deep harvests bury all his pride has planned,
> And laughing Ceres re-assumes the land.

The duke, who lost great sums in the speculations of the day, died in 1744, and his successor, finding himself in straitened circumstances, tried in vain to dispose of the almost priceless mansion. Eventually, in 1747, the vast palace was pulled down and sold piecemeal by auction, the whole realising a beggarly £11,000. Portions of the residence were scattered over the country, the Earl of Chesterfield securing the splendid marble staircase

for his house in Mayfair. The estate was purchased by John Hallet, an upholsterer of Long Acre, who built the present modest house on a part of the estate. A volume might be written on the marvellous story of the rapid rise and equally rapid fall of this sumptuous palace, which was doubtless built through ill-gotten gains.

CRANFORD manor, until the time of their proscription, belonged to the Knights Templars; in 1363 it passed to the Knights Hospitallers. On the suppression of the latter order, Henry VIII. granted Cranford, in 1543, to Henry, Lord Windsor. In 1604 it became the property of Dr. Roger Aston, but it was purchased in 1618 by Elizabeth, Lady Berkeley, daughter and heir of Lord Hunsdon, and widow of Sir Thomas Berkeley. Ever since that date Cranford House has been an occasional residence of the Berkeley family. The house, which was built or rebuilt by the Astons in the reign of James I., received considerable additions at the hands of James, Earl of Berkeley, Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, about the middle of the eighteenth century. At a subsequent date in the same century the old parts were all pulled down, and the house, as it now stands, is in very much the same condition as it was left by the gallant admiral.

Though standing in a fair situation, and surrounded by much good timber, this red-brick house is certainly neither imposing nor beautiful. Mr. Walford, writing about it in *Greater London* (1894), says, with some justice:

> The manor house, which stands near the centre of the park, is a dull, heavy-looking structure of any and every age, not built upon any regular plan. The stabling is fine and good, and evidently in former days formed a most important part of the mansion.

This was not, however, the opinion of Mr. Wetenhall Wilkes, who wrote an ambitious but dull poem entitled "Hounslow Heath" about the middle of the eighteenth century. He thus apostrophises this seat of the Berkeleys:—

Two miles from Hounslow towards the west is plac'd,
With all the beauties of retirement grac'd,
A grand and rural seat in Berkeley fam'd,
Gay Cranford's Castle by the Musess nam'd;
Where health's preserved in unpolluted air,
Where smiling peace extirpates every care;
Where Amilthea holds her golden horn,
And brisk diversions wake with every morn.

Cranford House has long had the reputation of being haunted. Grantley Berkeley, in his *Life and Recollections* (1865-6), gives a full account of a ghost seen by himself and his elder brother in the kitchen, "dressed as a maid-servant, with a sort of poke-bonnet on, and a dark shawl drawn or pinned lightly across her breast"; and also of another, seen by the earl, his father, of a man on the wine-cellar steps, who disappeared into the wine-cellar.

The well-wooded park extends over 150 acres. It is traversed by the small river Crane, which has been dammed up in front of the house to form an absolutely straight lake or wide canal.

DYRHAM PARK, in the parish of South Mimms, is undulating and well wooded; it includes an area of about 170 acres. The estate took the name of Dyrham, Derham, or Durham from the name of the early owners. Thomas Frowyk married the heiress of John Durham in the reign of Edward III., and the estate or manor remained with that family for a long period. After several changes of ownership, the property was purchased by John Trotter in 1798, in whose family it still continues. A few years after this purchase the old mansion, of Elizabethan date, was burnt down, and Mr. Trotter built the present substantial square building in the classical style then current. The entrance gateway at Bridge Foot is of some distinction. It consists of a tall central arch between Tuscan columns, surmounted by a large vase. It is said to have been the original triumphant arch erected in London by General Monk on the occasion of the entry of Charles II. in 1660.

FORTY HALL, the residence of Colonel H. F. Bowles, is a stately rectangular mansion of brick, built in 1629-32 by Inigo Jones for Sir Nicholas Raynton; but it was much altered by the Wolstenholmes about 1700. It has some finely clustered chimney-stacks and spacious panelled apartments. A quaint feature is the picturesque gateway leading to the stables, flanked by buttresses and small embattled arches. The house stands in a richly timbered park of 300 acres. It is the manor-house of the old royal manor of Worcester.

GROVELANDS, Southgate, the seat of Captain J. V. Taylor, stands in a well-planted park of 150 acres, and the adjacent woods occupy a further acreage of like extent. A sheet of water covers eight acres. Here is a herd of about one hundred fallow-deer, the progeny of a pair given to the grandfather of the present proprietor in 1840. There are many finely grown old oaks; one of them has a girth three feet from the ground of 14 ft. 7 ins., and another of 15 ft. 10 ins. A noteworthy feature of the woodland of this estate is the fact that the wild heather or ling grows luxuriantly, though unknown in other parts of the district. This fact seems to point to this woodland being an undisturbed part of the old waste. The house is a mansion in the Ionic style, after designs by Nash.

GUNNERSBURY PARK, the seat of Leopold de Rothschild, Esq., was purchased by the Rothschild family about 1850. The park and grounds consist of some ninety-five acres, surrounded with a lofty wall. One of the chief features is the finely grown cedar trees. The large rectangular house, in the Italian style, had a lofty pedimented colonnade on the principal front, raised on a projecting lower storey, and enclosed with balustrades. The ground-plan and elevation of Gunnersbury House were engraved in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* (i., 17, 18). It was built for Sir John Maynard, a famous lawyer, in 1663, by Webbe, a pupil of Inigo Jones. On

Maynard's death, in 1690, the house was occupied for many years by his widow, who was married to Henry, Earl of Suffolk. In 1760 the estate was purchased for the Princess Amelia, who entertained here after a courtly fashion. Horace Walpole was a frequent guest, and there are several references to Gunnersbury visits in his *Letters*. Soon after the death of the princess, in 1786, the land was sold and the house pulled down. The purchaser, Mr. Copland, rebuilt the house somewhat after the previous design.

HANWELL PARK was the name given to a residence which, according to *Beauties of England* (1816), was "agreeably situated within grounds of considerable extent." It does not appear to have enjoyed any distinction prior to the eighteenth century. It was for some time occupied by Sir Archibald Macdonald (1747-1826), Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The site of the park has been built over for several years.

At HANWORTH, Henry VIII. had a royal hunting lodge which he frequently visited. "He made it," says Camden, "his chief place for pleasure, having the Thames in prospect, and a delicious champaign about it, as well as two good parks on each side, the one called Kempton, the other Hanworth Park, where he had the diversion at all times of the buck or hare." The estate was afterwards settled upon Queen Catherine Parr, who had the good fortune to survive the King, and here she dwelt with her second husband, Sir Thomas Seymour. The Princess Elizabeth spent much of her girlhood at Hanworth, and visited it on more than one occasion after she had ascended the throne.

Mr. Tavenor-Perry was fortunate enough to recently detect on the wall of an outbuilding belonging to the old manor-house of Hanworth a decayed piece of stone sculptured with a noteworthy shield of arms. The bearings are: Quarterly, one and four, the royal Stuart arms; two and three, quarterly gu. and or, in the first

a mullet arg., which were the arms of the De Veres of Oxford. The shield, surrounded with mantling, is ensigned with a baron's coronet, and bears over all an escutcheon of pretence charged with a chevron. This shield, the last relic of the old manor-house, which was destroyed by fire in 1797, is that of Lord Vere Beauclerk (1699-1781), third son of Charles Beauclerk, one of the illegitimate children of Charles II., created first Duke of St. Albans. Sir Thomas Chambers bought Hanworth manor in 1670, and his granddaughter and heiress, Mary Chambers, became the wife, in 1736, of Lord Vere Beauclerk, created in 1750 first Baron Vere of Hanworth. Mr. Tavenor-Perry contributed an interesting illustrated account of this discovery to the *Antiquary* (vol. xliii., pp. 66-7). The sculptor has wrongly omitted the bar sinister of illegitimacy from the shield.

Lord Vere's son, Anthony, became fifth Duke of St. Albans in 1786. Horace Walpole, in a letter of June 8th, 1791, wrote:—

> The Duke of St. Albans has cut down all the brave old trees at Hanworth, and consequently reduced his park to what it issued from—Hounslow Heath; nay, he has hired a meadow next to mine for the benefit of embarkation, and there lie all the good old corpses of oaks, ashes, and chestnuts, directly before your windows, and blocking up one of my views of the river.

The moat and a few vestiges of the old house may be seen immediately to the west of the church. The present Hanworth House, standing in a park of 207 acres, stands on somewhat higher ground nearly half a mile to the north-east of its predecessor. A comparatively small house has been built near the old site. Part of the grounds are considered to retain the original plan or lay-out of the sixteenth century, and are known as "Queen Elizabeth's Gardens." The site was surrounded by some singularly fine and diversified timbers. But, alas! grievous to relate, on November 24th, 1908, no fewer than "221 sticks of timber, oak, elm, ash, chestnut,

lime, and fir, well grown, clean, lofty, and mostly of great girth," were sold by auction!

HAREFIELD PLACE, the ancient manor-house and seat of the Newdegates, stood close to the south side of the church on the edge of a park. Old houses were very rarely surrounded by their parks. Norden, in his *Survey* of 1596, describes it as "a fair house standing on the edge of the hill; the river Colne passing near the same, through the pleasant meadows and sweet pastures, yielding both delight and profit." During the century that it was alienated from the Newdegate family (1585-1675) it constantly changed hands. It was sold in 1601 to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and his wife, Alice, Countess-Dowager of Derby. In the year 1602 Queen Elizabeth paid a three days' visit to Harefield Place, arriving on July 31st, and was received with all possible pomp and pageantry. It has been supposed, but on insufficient grounds, that on this occasion the Lord Chamberlain's players were brought down to present "Othello," under the immediate direction of Shakespeare.

During the next reign, in 1635, Milton wrote his "Arcades," as the poetic "part of an entertainment presented to the Countess-Dowager of Derby (then in her second widowhood) by some noble members of her family, who appear on the scene in pastoral habit moving towards the seat of state." Milton was a not infrequent visitor to Harefield Place, and there can be no doubt that it was the scene of this entertainment.

Harefield Place was burnt to the ground in 1660. The fire is traditionally assigned to the carelessness of the witty but profligate Sir Charles Sedley, who is said to have been reading in bed. A new house, of some stateliness and many gables, was built in 1675 by Sir Richard Newdegate at a short distance from its predecessor. It is shown in a drawing in Lysons'

Environs of London (1800), and also, from another point of view, in a print in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1815. Sir Roger Newdegate, for some unknown reason, pulled down the 1675 house about the year 1800, and removed to another residence near by called Harefield Lodge. This house has now for some time been re-named Harefield Place. It is surrounded by a park of sixty acres, and is rightly described as "a comfortable, commonplace, modern mansion."

Harefield cannot be passed by without a brief reference to Breakspears, the seat of Alfred Henry Tarleton, Esq., an ancient manor-house on a finely wooded estate lying to the west of the church on the Ruislip road. It was in the possession of the Ashby family from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, but was originally held by the Breakspears. Camden says that here was the early residence of Nicholas Breakspear, who was elected Pope in 1154 under the title of Adrian IV.; he died in 1159. He was the only Englishman who ever occupied the chair of St. Peter.

HIGHGATE, the well-known northern suburb of London, derives its name from the toll-gate which stood for several centuries on the heights (420 feet above sea-level) where the north road entered the ancient park of the Bishop of London. In the reign of Richard II., Bishop Robert de Braybrook consented—on account of the depth of the mud of the old highway that ran from London to Barnet through Crouch End, leaving Highgate considerably to the left—to allow a new road to be made through his park at Highgate, on condition of imposing a toll on all wheeled vehicles and pack-horses. At Highgate there is still a track of woodland, part of the old episcopal park, termed Highgate Woods, extending for about 150 acres, and divided by the Muswell Hill road. The eastern portion, of fifty-five acres, was opened to the public by the Duchess of Albany in 1890, and re-named Queen's Wood. The western portion, of

ninety-six acres, known as Gravel Pit Wood, was presented by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the Common Council of the City of London in 1886 for the use of the public.

HILLINGDON HOUSE is a large, plain mansion between Hillingdon and Uxbridge on the London road, standing in a small undulating and richly wooded park, with a fine sheet of water. It was for some time the residence of the Carteret family, but it was purchased in 1698 by the last Duke of Schomberg. The duke built the present house in 1717. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it was purchased by the Marchioness of Rockingham, and subsequently by Mr. Cox, the army agent.

KEMPTON manor-house was an occasional royal residence of Kings Edward II. and Edward III. In 1558 the manors of Kempton and Hanworth were granted by the Crown to Anne, Duchess of Somerset, widow of the Protector, for her life. The old manor-house or royal lodge has long since disappeared. Kempton Park, of some 300 acres in extent, now serves as a racecourse. Deer were maintained here up to 1835. A long lease of this park granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Killigrew family, was renewed in 1631 by Charles I. to Sir Robert Killigrew, provided that he maintained "the park stocked with 300 deer for his Majesty's disport."

LALEHAM HOUSE, a seat of the Earl of Lucan, stands in a small but well-wooded park on the banks of the Thames. The manor of Laleham, which was originally part of the possessions of Westminster Abbey, passed by purchase in 1803 into the hands of the Earl of Lucan. The present house, which is a plain, square mansion, with a Tuscan portico in the centre, was for some years, from 1829 onwards, the residence of Dame Maria, Queen of Portugal, during her minority.

LITTLETON PARK, the seat of the Wood family, enclosed a large mansion, which, after standing for some

three centuries, was burnt down in 1874. Many noteworthy pictures perished in the flames, including Hogarth's picture of "Actors Dressing." The house has since been rebuilt on a more modest scale. The park and grounds are now of a limited extent, but beautifully planned out. There is much fine woodland and some avenues of elms on the estate.

OSTERLEY PARK.—A few years before the suppression of the monasteries, the manor of Osterley was conveyed to the abbess and convent of Syon. Henry VIII. granted Osterley to the Marquis of Exeter, on whose attainder it reverted to the Crown. So soon as the boy-king Edward VI. ascended the throne, Osterley was one of the numerous estates "conferred" upon Protector Somerset. On Somerset's attainder it again passed to the Crown, and eventually was granted to that famous merchant-prince, Sir Thomas Gresham, by Queen Elizabeth, early in her reign. Here Gresham built one of his numerous great mansions. Norden, in his *Survey* of 1596, says:—

> Osterley, the house nowe of the Lady Gresham, a faire and stately building of brick, erected by Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, citizen, and merchant adventurer, of London, and finished about anno 1577. It standeth in a parke by him also impaled, well wooded, and furnished with manie faire ponds, which affordeth not only fish and fowle, as swanes and other water-fowle, but also a great rise for milles, as paper milles, oyle mills, and corn milles, all of which are now decayed, a corn mill only excepted. In the same parke was a faire heronrie, for the increase and preservation whereof sundry allurements were devised and set up, fallen all to ruin.

Shortly before its completion, Queen Elizabeth visited Osterley House, and was sumptuously entertained by Gresham. The Queen remarked that the court in front of the house would look better if divided by a wall, whereupon the obsequious host sent for an army of men from London, who worked all night, so that when the Queen rose the next morning the wall was in its place. Elizabeth is credited with thereupon uttering the happy

conceit that "it was no wonder that he who could build a Change should so soon change a building." But the same night there was a serious disturbance. Gresham's great enclosure was regarded as an encroachment on the common rights of the district, and the bolder of the aggrieved men took the opportunity of Elizabeth's visit to break down much of the park paling. Sir Thomas Gresham died in 1579, and the great house, only just completed, immediately began to go to decay. On Lady Gresham's death, Osterley passed to Sir William Read, her son by a former husband.

In 1655 the estate was purchased by Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary General, who resided here till his death in 1668. Francis Child, the founder of the great banking house, obtained the property by the foreclosing of a mortgage in 1713. His son, of the same name, began to rebuild the house on an imposing classical scale. His brother, Robert Child, who succeeded to the estate in 1763, entrusted the completion of the work, and the furnishing of it with all possible magnificence, to Robert Adam, the most celebrated of the four architect brothers. Soon after all was finished, Osterley was visited by Horace Walpole, who, in an ecstatic letter of 1773, styled it "the palace of palaces, and yet a palace *sans* crown, *sans* coronet, but such expense! such taste! such profusion! and yet half an acre (Child's bank) produces all the rents that furnish such magnificence." In a somewhat detailed description of house and grounds, Walpole adds that the kitchen garden alone cost £1,400 a year.

The house and property came to the Earls of Jersey through the runaway match of Robert Child's daughter and heiress with the tenth Earl of Westmorland. The only daughter of this union married George, the fifth Earl of Jersey, and Osterley has since remained in the family of Ducie. The house was the centre of much extravagant living during the Regency, when the influence

of the beautiful but notorious Countess of Jersey was at its height.

The present mansion, though it suffered much from fire in 1879, is much as it was left by Adam at the beginning of the reign of George III. It is of red brick and nearly square, 140 feet by 127 feet. The principal front has an Ionic portico in the centre, approached by a flight of steps leading into an open court. Adam retained, with happy effect, Gresham's four turrets at the angles of the building; they are crowned with ogee-shaped domed roofs. The great hall has a fine painting by Rubens of the apotheosis of William the Silent, assassinated at Delft in 1584. The gallery, 130 feet long, and state room contain many fine portraits and other pictures by Rubens, Vandyke, Reynolds, Guido, Domenichino, Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, and other masters. The celebrated library was sold in 1885.

The park, of about 500 acres, contains a large lake. It suffers from an almost absolute flatness—Walpole, in his exaggerated strain, called it "the ugliest spot of ground in the universe"—but it has a true claim to be considered picturesque from the fine growth of its timber, particularly of the stately elm trees.

STANWELL PLACE, "a modern mansion, formal and dull without, commodious and richly fitted within," occupies the site of the old manor-house where the first Lord Knyvet had charge of the Princess Mary, daughter of James I., and where she died in 1607. It stands in a moderate-sized park, richly wooded, especially with elms and chestnuts, on the banks of the Colne.

SWAKELEYS, or SWAKELEY HOUSE, in Ickenham parish, an exceptionally fine example of the smaller Stuart mansions, is a picturesque red-brick house, consisting of a central block, with slightly projecting wings, lighted in both storeys by large bay windows. Above the parapet rise a series of scrolled gables, whilst at intervals are clustered stacks of ornamental chimneys. This last

feature is detrimental to the general design. It was built by Sir Edmund Wright, Alderman of London (Lord Mayor in 1641), in the year 1638; the date and his initials appear in several parts of the building. The well-carved screen, the royal and other busts, and the staircase, the walls of which are painted with classical subjects, are the chief internal features; the long gallery has been unfortunately cut up into three apartments. The house stands in well-wooded grounds, intersected by a rivulet, which has been dammed up into a miniature lake. There is an avenue of elms leading to the south front. Pepys, in his *Diary*, under date 7th September, 1665, gives an interesting account of his visit to Swakeleys, but it is too long for quotation.

TRENT PARK, on the western border of Enfield, was granted by George III. to Sir Richard Jebb, his favourite doctor. Jebb gave it its name from Trent in the Tyrol, where the King's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, had recovered from a serious illness. He spent £19,000 on the great brick mansion. Within the park of about 1,000 acres, part of the old Chase, is Camlet Moat, supposed to mark the site of the original manor-house of the Bohuns. The greater portion of the present Trent House was rebuilt in 1894; it is approached by a handsome double avenue of limes from the Southgate road.

TWICKENHAM PARK was in the hands of the Crown in the sixteenth century. In 1547 one Robert Boucher was appointed its keeper; but the park as a deer-park of any great size, ceased to exist before the end of the century. Norden says (1594): "Twyckenham Parke is now disparked." The estate or manor to which the park was attached was held by Edward Bacon, third son of Lord Keeper Bacon, in 1574. Towards the close of 1592 Sir Francis Bacon entertained Queen Elizabeth at "his lodging in Twickenham Park," by which term is meant the lodge or residence of the chief park-keeper. Lord Chancellor Bacon afterwards sold it; but in a letter

Swakeley House, Ickenham.

of instructions to Thomas Bushell, shortly before his death, he wrote: "Let Twitnam Park, which I sold in my younger days, be purchased, if possible, for a residence for such deserving persons to study in, since I experimentally found the situation of that place much convenient for the trial of my philosophical conclusions." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the house changed hands with much rapidity. Lord Frederick Cavendish was its owner in 1795, when Angus published a view of it. From that picture it appears to have been a large building, with central portico and wings, of red brick with stone facings. The old mansion was advertised for sale in 1817, and a few years later was demolished, its site being occupied by a row of "neat villas."

TWYFORD ABBEY—an abbey only in name—is a stucco-covered, pretentious building, erected in a bastard Gothic style in 1807-9 by Thomas Willan, the proprietor of that famous old coaching inn, the "Bull and Mouth" in Aldersgate Street. The house was enlarged in 1904, and is now used as a convalescent home. The surrounding grounds are pleasantly wooded, and bounded on the west by the river Brent. The old manor-house on this site, which was demolished to make room for the Gothic enormity, was surrounded by a moat, and could only be approached by a drawbridge.

WEMBLEY, a manor of the old parish of Harrow-on-the-Hill, belonging to the priory of Kilburn. Soon after the dissolution of the monasteries it was conveyed to Richard Page, whose descendants held it for upwards of two and a half centuries. At the beginning of the last century it was sold to a Mr. Gray, who in 1810 rebuilt the manor-house and extended the park by which it was surrounded. The well-timbered and agreeably undulating park of 280 acres was eventually bought by the Metropolitan Railway Company, who converted much of it into a spacious pleasure ground. The chief attraction was intended to be the Watkin Tower, which

was designed to eclipse the height of the Eiffel Tower by 175 feet, but it never rose above the first stage.

WHITE WEBBS PARK, of about 300 acres, on the borders of Hertfordshire, is beautifully timbered, and retains traces of the ancient chase out of which it was formed. The old house of White Webbs was closely associated with the Gunpowder Plot, as it was then in the hands of those who were involved in the conspiracy. According to the State Papers, frequent meetings were held there, and there is no doubt that it was a rendezvous of Father Garnet and other Jesuits. The house was taken for a time in the name of Mrs. Anne Vaux. White Webbs was searched by order of the Council on November 11th. Various "Popish books and relics" were found, but no papers nor munition. It was reported that the house had many trap-doors and passages.

WHITTON PARK, originally known as Whitton Place, was built on the edge of Hounslow Heath by Archibald, Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyll, in the reign of George I. The grounds, which were very extensive, were enclosed from the heath by a special Crown grant. The duke was a distinguished arboriculturist, and spent considerable sums in planting the park and gardens with cedars (raised from seed in 1725) and other conifers, as well as a large number of exotic plants and shrubs. After his death the property changed hands more than once, and the choicest trees and shrubs were removed to Kew Gardens about 1762. When the property came into the hands of Mr. Gostling, the great conservatory was converted into a villa, known as Whitton Park, for his own occupation, whilst the rest of the grounds, with the duke's house, were sold to Sir William Chambers, R.A., the distinguished architect. He made many alterations and converted it into an Italian villa, surrounded by a series of statues, temples, and mock ruins, which won vast admiration in accordance with the taste of those days. After Chambers' death, in 1796, his property was

repurchased by the Gostling family, Whitton Place (the duke's house) taken down, and the whole reunited under the name of Whitton Park. The park is extensive, and many of the noble cedars and fir trees still remain; but, alas! as we write (November, 1908), the property is on sale in small building lots!

WROTHAM PARK, the seat of the Earl of Stratford, took its name from Wrotham, in Kent, where was the ancient seat of the Byngs, Lords Torrington. This Middlesex mansion, in the parish of South Mimms, was built at considerable cost by the unfortunate Admiral Byng in 1754 in the classical style, after the designs of Ware. It narrowly escaped destruction a few years later at the hands of an infuriated mob during the riots consequent on the trial and disgrace of Admiral Byng in 1757. The house was eventually destroyed by an accidental fire in March, 1883. Its successor stands in a fairly well-wooded park of 286 acres.

THE STORY OF CHELSEA

By J. Tavenor-Perry

STORIES of Chelsea have been so frequently told that, except to those who may be very specially interested in the place, they have become almost wearisome; and these stories, while they repeat the same well-known facts over and over again, often contain very little about the place itself. So many people of fame or notoriety have lived in Chelsea, or visited it for long periods, that the accounts of them alone supply ample material for a great deal of writing, until some of the so-called histories amount to little more than long extracts from the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is noteworthy that although these writers always start with the saintly Sir Thomas More as its inventor, if not founder, it is on Nell Gwynne and the profligate beauties of the court of Charles II. that they love most to dwell, and whom they regard as the creators of the prosperity and fame of Chelsea. Quite lately, as a change to the oft-told tales, impressionist views of epochs in Chelsea life have been displayed in the tableaux of a "Pageant," the new and pretty way of presenting history to the people; but its authors have been careful to inform us, in the preface printed with the published account of it, that the designers, in aiming at the production of pleasing and generally correct pictures, have not felt themselves bound to preserve strict historical accuracy. But it must be

remembered that there was a Chelsea of great importance in existence before More went there to build himself a house and pass the last years of his life on the banks of the Thames, and that its history did not terminate with the career of the Duchess of Mazarin in Paradise Row; and it is quite possible to retell the story of Chelsea with a truer regard for perspective than has yet been attempted. But to essay to do so in a single chapter of this volume would be futile; and the author's endeavour here will only be to notice some of the points which have been too much neglected, and to sketch an outline to be filled in in all its parts at a later time.

A glance at the map of Middlesex, with special reference to Chelsea, will reveal the curious fact of the great similarity existing between them in many particulars; indeed, the Parish is, in its configuration and physical features, a microcosm of the County. The Parish, like the County, is surrounded on three sides by water; on the south flows the Thames, while to east and west were the streams, now canalled or driven underground, known as the Westbourne and the Counters brook, rising beyond the northern boundary; whilst through the centre of the Parish another stream ran between rushy banks, within the memory of the writer, which answered to the Brent; and the north side was bounded by an ill-defined line which ran across open commons. The site of Chelsea was one of those gravelly mounds by the side of the river which rose above the surrounding marsh-lands, and its once descriptive title of Chels-eyot may be the true origin of its present name. Much has been written on this subject of no particular interest, except for the purposes of identification with the Cealchyth of the chronicles; and although this name has been variously rendered as Cold-Harbour or Chalk-Haven, Chels-eyot, as used by Mr. Montague Sharpe, Chelsey, as it later became, seems to be the earliest and most explanatory name.

Under the name of Cealchyth the place first comes into notice in connection with some ecclesiastical synods

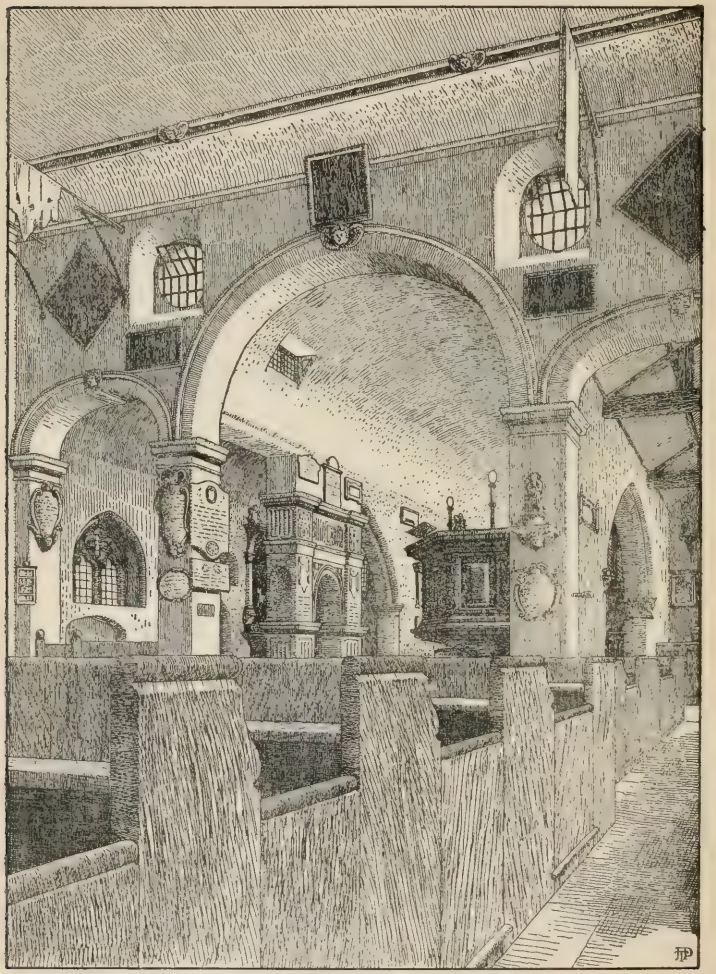


FIG. 23.—INTERIOR, CHELSEA OLD CHURCH.

which met therein. Although the fact of its being selected for such a meeting-place argues that it was

even then of some importance, it is to be remembered that the accommodation such synods required was, perhaps, of little moment as compared to the accessibility of the locality and the safety of its position. Bishop Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History*, in referring to these early ecclesiastical meetings in England, says: "Most of them are held on the confines of states, where the subjects of each King could at nightfall retire into his own country. Such places were Brentford and Chelsea, and most likely Clovesho also." The first and most important of the councils held in Chelsea was in 785, and, to a great extent, its object was political rather than religious. Two papal legates were already in England—Gregory, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, Bishop of Todi—engaged on the ecclesiastical affairs of Northumbria; and, returning to the south, they held an adjourned session of the synod at Chelsea to deal with King Offa's desire to elevate the bishop of the Mercian see to the dignity of Metropolitan at the expense of, and despite the privileges of, Canterbury. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* describes the meeting as being, as might be expected, "contentious," although the influence which Offa's position gave him with his own subjects, and his own subserviency to the Pope, enabled him easily to attain his wish. Nevertheless, shortly after his death, the archbishops of Canterbury resumed their original position.

Not only was Chelsea a meeting-place for synods, but in 996, under the second Ethelred, a Witenagemot was held here; and the frequency of such important meetings during the last two or three centuries of the Saxon era shows that it must have been a place of conveniency, and easily accessible to London and to other parts of the country. It may also be assumed from the character of these meetings that Chelsea possessed in those early days, if not a royal residence, at least a church; and although no traces of any Saxon work were discovered

when the late Mr. Burnell made his excavations within the church area, there are features in the present building which suggest that it may stand on the site of a Saxon predecessor. It is a little unfortunate that Mr. Burnell's excavations were of a very casual and incomplete character, since the opportunity for their resumption is not likely to occur again. His discoveries, such as they were, were of a negative character, and resulted in his determining that there was no crypt under the south-east chapel; but he found, however, a portion of the foundations of the ancient nave westward of the Dacre

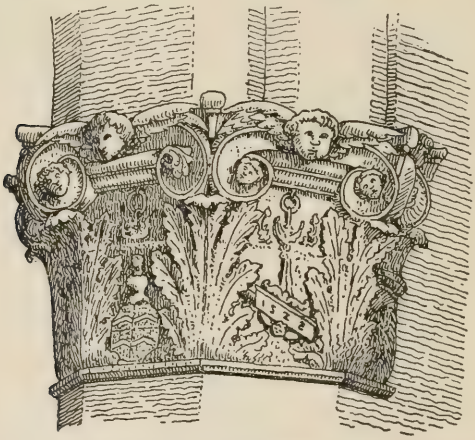


FIG. 24.—CAPITAL IN SIR THOMAS MORE'S CHAPEL.

monument, though no attempt seems to have been made by an examination of the masonry to fix the date to which it belonged. Looking, however, at the edifice as it now stands, and taking the proportions of its plan as a guide, it seems not improbable that the western tower and the chancel occupy the exact site of the Saxon church.

By a series of most fortunate accidents the original parish church of Chelsea, the "Old Church," as it is lovingly called by the old inhabitants of the Parish, has

escaped those wholesale restorations and scrapings to which most old London and Middlesex churches have been sacrificed. The additions and alterations made to the original structure by succeeding generations through seven or eight hundred years have been suffered, with but trivial interference, to remain as they grew up. When, near the beginning of the last century, the population of Chelsea greatly increased and began to build over the vacant lands, the need for additional church accommodation was met, not as elsewhere by rebuilding the parish church, but by erecting a new one elsewhere, leaving the old one severely alone, and relegating it to the position of parish chapel. A hundred and fifty years earlier, at a similar juncture, when the Parish had increased its population, the church narrowly escaped destruction and a total rebuilding, such as befel Twickenham, Kensington, Isleworth, and many other of the suburban churches; but the fact that the two eastern chapels north and south of the chancel were private property, seems to have saved all the eastward part of the structure from being tampered with; and although the nave and tower were rebuilt, the work was executed not only in a very beautiful manner, but in a style which its builders no doubt thought was Gothic—in fact, in that unclassic order of architecture which was employed for ecclesiastical work under the auspices of Archbishop Laud in the south of England and of Bishop Cosin in the north. Fortuitous circumstances having thus stayed the destructive hand of man, Time itself has dealt leniently with the venerable structure, and the building remains to us much as it was when our Stuart ancestors, the elegant ladies from Cheyne Walk, the beauties of Paradise Row, and the wits and writers of Danvers

FIG. 25.—THE HEAD-PIECE OF A FORGOTTEN CHELSEA WORTHY.

Street and Lombard Street, foregathered within its walls. Some slight alterations took place in the last century—the seats were rearranged, the gallery modernised, the pulpit was shifted and denuded of its quaint sounding-board, and some tombs and hatchments added, and regimental colours suspended from the walls; and

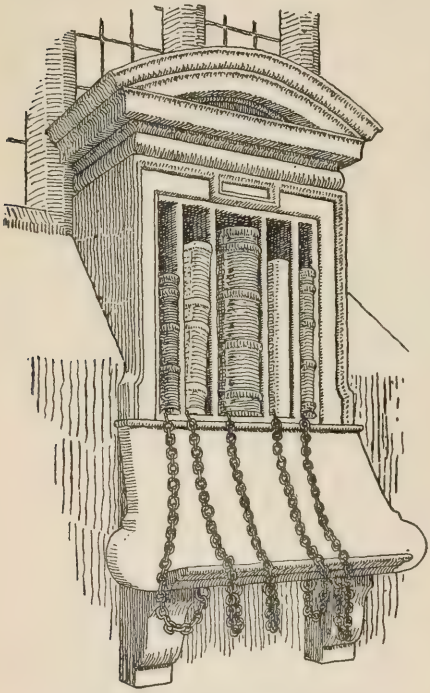


FIG. 26.—THE CHAINED BIBLE.

FIG. 27.—THE FONT.

now the interior presents an aspect of picturesqueness unparalleled in the ecclesiology of London (fig. 23). We may still see in the south aisle of the chancel, generally known as "More's Chapel," some beautiful sculpture worked out of the stone of the mediæval capitals, bearing the arms of More, no doubt executed by one of the Italian sculptors engaged with Torrigiano at Westminster

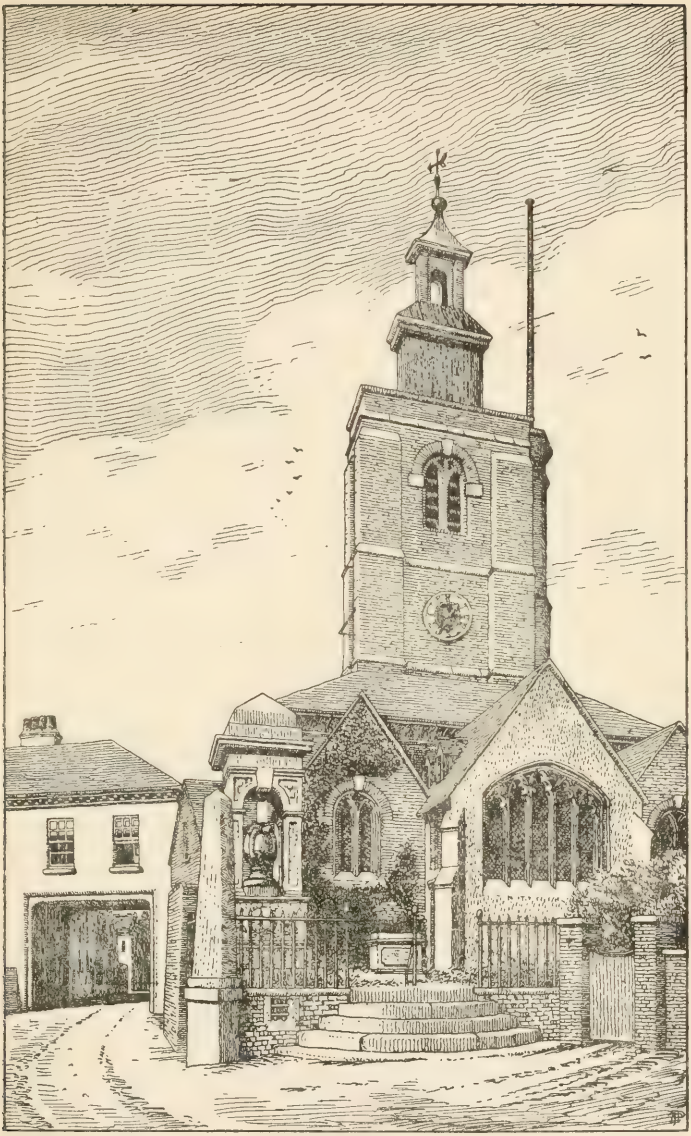


FIG. 28.—THE ENTRY TO LOMBARD STREET, CHELSEA.

Abbey, on which More and Erasmus must have often looked; and it was perhaps to satisfy their classic taste that it was carved (fig. 24). On the wall near by still hangs a tilting-helmet, with an eagle's head as crest, part of a funeral achievement which, with the owner's name, are together lost and forgotten (fig. 25). The Bible and the Homilies still remain chained within the church, as required by King Henry's command, although their desk has been renewed and shifted more than once (fig. 26). The ancient font has long since disappeared, perhaps with the ancient nave, for the present one of white marble belongs to the period of the rebuilding; but at this font the Chelsea children, for a hundred and fifty years, were baptized (fig. 27). The exterior of the church has scarcely been altered at all, except in the removal of the tall wooden cupola which once crowned the tower, and which became unsafe; and, save for the shifting of some of the enclosing walls and gates, it remains much as it was when Sir Hans Sloane's great monument was first erected in the churchyard (fig. 28). On the north side of the church, in 1706, William Petyt erected a building to serve as a vestry, which has been fortunately preserved, though now adapted to other uses (fig. 29). Although bearing so ecclesiastical a name, it was intended for civil purposes, for it is to be remembered that all the local government of the Parish was carried on by the ratepayers in "open vestry," as it was called, assembled; and it was for the purposes of these meetings the place was built, and its diminutive size indicates somewhat the fewness of the inhabitants. The history of the church and a description of all its beautiful monuments has been admirably given by Mr. Raffles Davies in his *Chelsea Old Church;* but the story of the mediæval period yet remains to be told. No examination of the site is now likely to produce much evidence of earlier structures, even if the opportunity for such occurred; but the gap may some

day be filled up by the discovery of documents, the existence of which is now unknown.

The fact that under Ethelred II. a Witenagemot was held in Chelsea points to the conclusion that the King had a residence therein, and that the place was a royal manor. Its ownership most likely lapsed to the Danish Kings during the period of their rule; but it returned to Edward the Confessor on his accession to the throne of his Saxon ancestors, as we find that he conferred it on one Thurstan, who was attached to his Court. It was conferred on Thurstan absolutely, and he, in imitation of his royal master, who was devoting himself to the rebuilding of the church of St. Peter, Westminster, presented it to the abbot and convent of that establishment, together with his rights over the neighbouring wood of Knightsbridge. This intimate association of Chelsea with the abbey, thus begun, though broken at times by alienation, continued until the time of the Dissolution, and doubtless had a considerable influence on the subsequent history of the Parish, which can only be appreciated by recalling the state of Chelsea a hundred years ago.

Nearly to the end of the eighteenth century Chelsea retained all the characteristics of a water-side village, cut off to a great extent by open country from the places around it, and difficult of access from London except by the Thames. The smaller houses of the village clustered closely around the parish church; the larger ones, built by wealthy immigrants during the two previous centuries, stretching eastward along the river banks towards the military hospital, and westward over the gardens of the great houses which once stood there, but had recently been destroyed. Through the middle of the Parish, from south-west to north-east, ran a fairly broad way, called the King's Road, from circumstances attending its partial reconstruction in the seventeenth century, which may mark the line of a Roman divisional

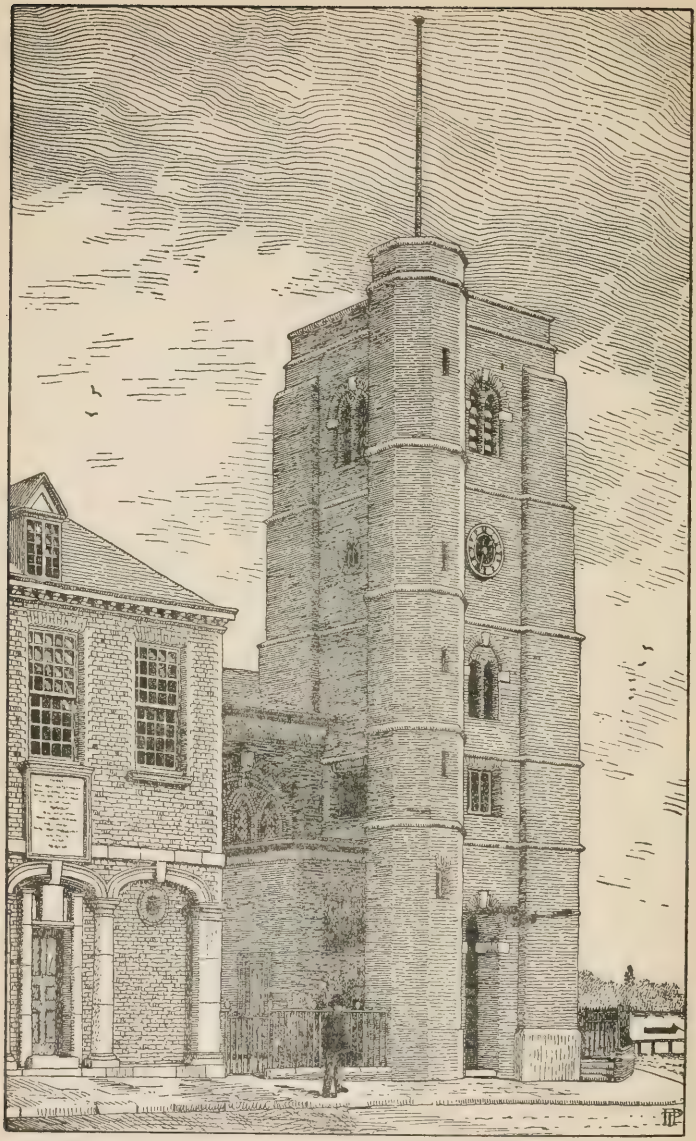


FIG. 29.—CHELSEA OLD CHURCH AND THE VESTRY.

road among the *centuriæ* into which the Chelsea district was divided; and the curious double rectangular twist which it still retains at the end of Milman's Row, and which appears in the oldest maps, presents one of the characteristic features which distinguish these roads. Northward of this way stretched a bare marshy district, known as Chelsea Common, full of ponds and disused gravel pits, and intersected by a little stream coming down through the Flounders Fields from Kensington; and eastward of this common was a tract of wood and scrub, known as Blacklands, stretching from Knightsbridge along the bank of the Westbourne to the "Bloody Bridge," which carried the King's Road in the direction of Pimlico. The village proper consisted mainly of a small close of houses lying along the water-side to the west of the church, entered through an archway, over and around which was built a large house that originally was the manor-house of Chelsea. Both the house and close remained intact, much altered and rebuilt, until the middle of the last century, and was always known by the singular name of "Lombard Street." When it is remembered that Chelsea remained through nearly all the mediæval period a manor of the abbey of Westminster, we may see some reason both for the peculiar arrangement of a close and for the name of this nucleus of the village. The abbey possessed a large number of manors to the north and west of Chelsea, which, being a commodious haven, was a convenient place to bring to and store the products of the farms for distribution; and the necessary buildings to receive these and suitably lodge their representative and servants would necessarily be erected. As wool would form an important item in the produce of the manors, the place would be resorted to by merchants, or "lombards," as they were often called, who not unlikely on occasion lodged there, and their name became identified with the street.

At each end of the close was a little haven or wharf.

That at the east end, outside the archway, seems to have belonged to the village, and was devoted to public use; but the one at the west end belonged to the manor, and always remained private property, forming for a time the landing-place of the Battersea ferry, and was still known as the "Old Ferry Wharf" at the time of its recent destruction. The first extension of the close was to the westward, when More built himself his house at Chelsea at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Although no portion of his house now remains, the position of its gardens is fixed by the river and the

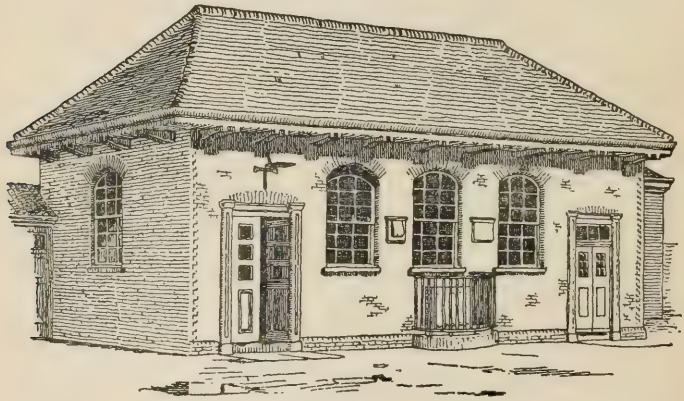


FIG. 30.—THE MORAVIAN CHAPEL.

King's Road, which were their southern and northern boundaries, and by the peculiar kink in the line of the road, to which we have already referred, which forms the junction between Milman's Row, then a private road, and Park Walk, which for a long period was the western boundary of Chelsea Park. In reference to this it may be noticed that the old chapel of the Moravians (fig. 30) seems to stand exactly on the site of More's stables, and the foundations, if not the walls, of it may be part of the original structure. Whether the house shown on Knyff's drawing as standing in front of these stables

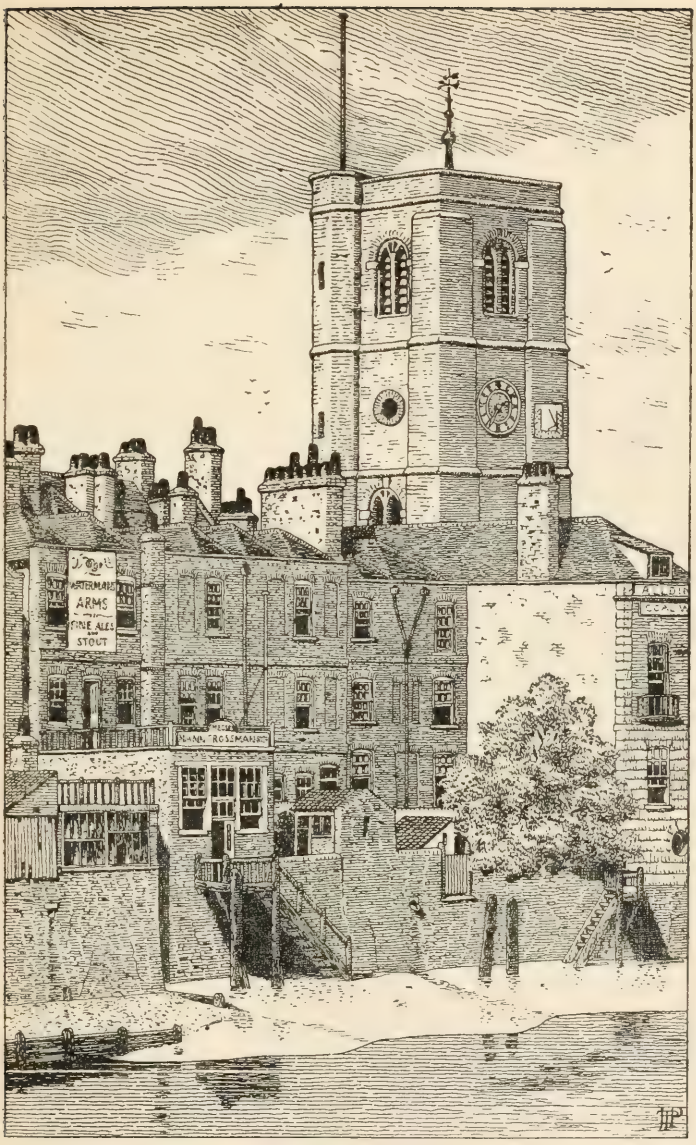


FIG. 31.—THE RIVERSIDE OF "THE WATERMAN'S ARMS," LOMBARD STREET.

and behind Lindsey House, known sometimes as the old Rectory, which is also shown on a plan prepared for Cecil of his own house in 1597, and published by Mr. Davies, was really More's house, cannot now be determined; but although both of these houses appear together on this plan, Lord Salisbury is said to have rebuilt the one occupied by More. After passing through many hands, it became the property of the Duke of Beaufort, and the appearance of the whole property just before his death in 1699 is preserved to us in the valuable bird's-eye view engraved by Kip. The road which connected the close with this house became called Duke Street in consequence of this occupancy, and it retained that name, together with the aspect it presents on Kip's engraving, until its destruction in the last century. It is worth noting in connection with this drawing that the gateway showing at the King's Road end of the great central walk through the gardens is the one designed by Inigo Jones for the Earl of Middlesex, who for a while resided here, some time before 1625; and when the house was finally destroyed by Sir Hans Sloane, it was set up and remains still in the grounds of Chiswick Villa (frontispiece).

The eastward extension of the village, though generally of a date subsequent to More's building, may have begun a little earlier. Sir Reginald Bray was holding the manor by lease in the reign of Henry VII., and he may have been the first builder of the so-called "old manor-house," generally associated with the Lawrence family, which stood by the street which still bears their name. Although the archway house continued in good occupancy, it ceased to be the residence of the lord of the manor; and the Lawrence house, which had become the manor-house when Henry VIII. acquired the manor of Chelsea, was too small or too dilapidated for a royal residence, and he accordingly erected a new one further east on a portion of ground now included in

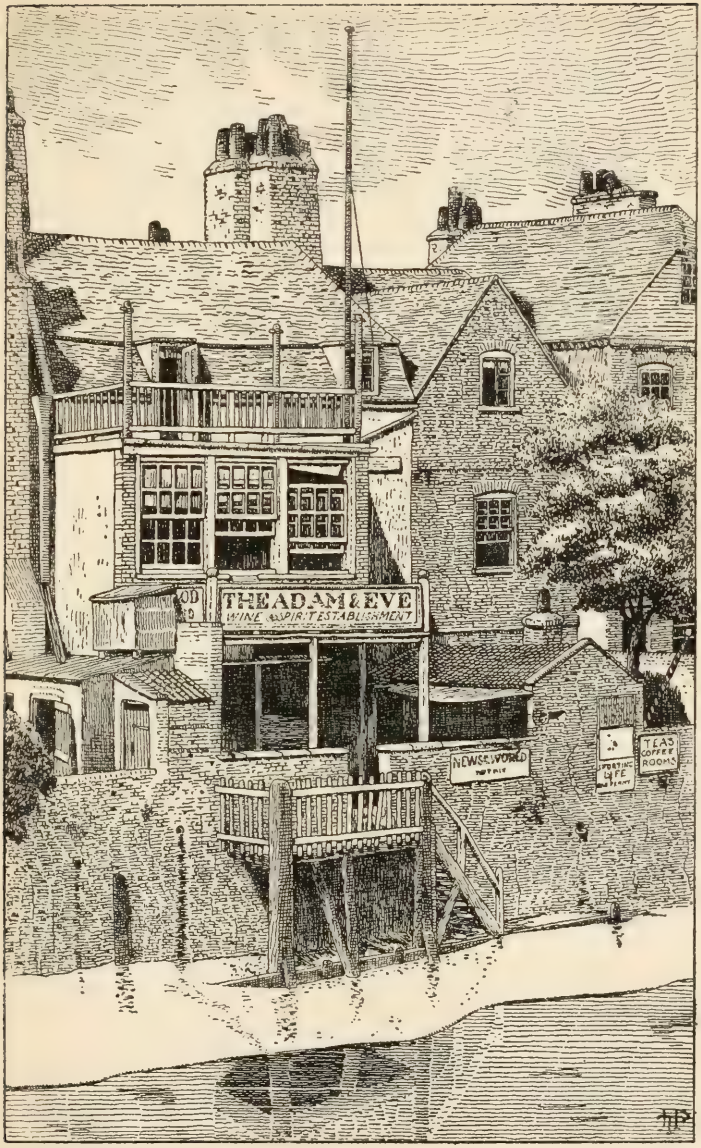


FIG. 32.—THE RIVERSIDE OF "THE ADAM AND EVE," DUKE STREET.

Cheyne Walk. From that date the eastward extension went on apace, other large houses were built, and Chelsea for a time justly claimed to be a "Village of Palaces." Between these large houses, and gradually on the site of them, sprang up the terrace of Cheyne Walk, with Cheyne Row branching out of it towards the north, and Paradise Row extending eastward towards the college; and the original close, with these eastern and western extensions, together with the Church Lane and some few houses in Danvers Street, were practically the whole of Chelsea in the eighteenth century, and so remained

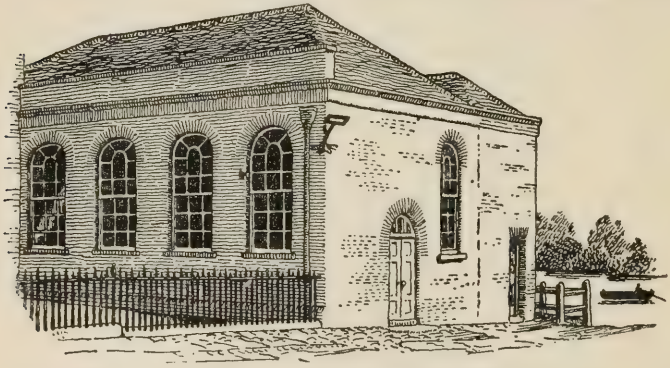


FIG. 33.—OLD PARADISE CHAPEL, PARADISE STREET.

until the flood of modernity swept round, and finally engulfed the ancient place.

The first considerable addition made to the habitable area of the parish was on its eastern side, which broke down the barrier which had divided it from London, by building the district known as Hans Town or Upper Chelsea. In 1777 Holland, a well-known architect, who later on designed the first pavilion at Brighton for the Prince Regent, took a lease from Lord Cadogan of the rough woodland, known as Blacklands, which stretched north and south from Knightsbridge to the King's Road, and east and west from the Westbourne to Blacklands Lane and Chelsea Common. On this he erected Sloane

Street and the adjoining streets and squares, which at once gave a new and safe access to Chelsea. Much of this district has again been rebuilt in recent years, involving the destruction of the large gardens and the house Holland built for himself, and which, both in name and design, formed the prototype of the palace at Brighton. In his grounds he also erected, according to the fashion of the day, a sham ruin, which was, however, so far real that the stones of which it was built were all brought from Cardinal Wolsey's palace at Esher; and these have now again been scattered and lost in the general destruction.

The next important area of land to be covered was that known as Chelsea Common, a rough piece of ground full of pits and ponds, which stretched westwards from Blacklands nearly to Church Lane along the northern boundary of the parish. Although here and there houses and farm-buildings had been erected on it, it was not until the building of the new church, for which an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1819, that the whole area was laid out and covered with the mean streets which remain to-day. Across the old common, running diagonally, was a path much used by the Chelsea people, especially such as frequented the old "Admiral Keppel" at the top of Blacklands Lane, which was not very safe to traverse on a dark night, especially after a prolonged visit to that hostelry; but a blind man who lived near by was employed on such occasions to lead the wayfarers safely across; and the line of the well-beaten path was preserved, and is still known as Leader Street. Until the common was built over, an open tract of country spread from the front of Chelsea Hospital to Kensington, and Queen Anne is credited with a scheme for planting a straight avenue of trees from one to the other, of which those remaining in Burton's Court and those recently destroyed in the Royal Avenue may be regarded as the commencement.

The third great building operation was at the west end of the parish, when the land about Shaftesbury House and the nursery grounds beyond Park Walk were covered with small streets, leaving for a time, however, the park lands of Ashburnham House and Cremorne, to the south of the King's Road, and the Lammas lands, known as the "Lots," by the river side. The ultimate use and eventual character of Cremorne Gardens synchronized with much of this street building; and this fact, as well as their geographical positions, may have suggested the saying that "Chelsea began with Ranelagh

FIG. 34.—IN DANVERS STREET.

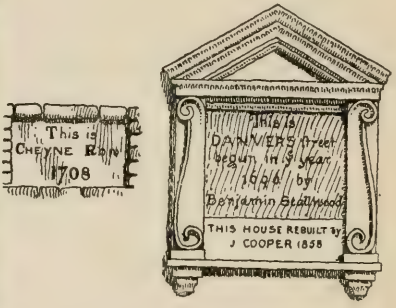


FIG. 35.—
SOME OLD STREET TABLETS.

and ended with Cremorne." The fall of Cremorne was the opportunity of the speculating builder; and as about the same time the West London Extension Railway and the Chelsea Vestry between them contrived to make the once open area of the "Lots" available for building purposes, this portion of the parish has become a manufacturing purlieu.

The last and greatest alteration of all, one which for ever destroyed all that was most characteristic of Chelsea, was perpetrated in the latter half of the last century, when the much-vaunted Thames Embankment

wall was built, for which the Chelsea people had clamoured before a Parliamentary Committee as long ago as 1838. An increase in the width of the road, and an enhanced "rateable value," were dearly purchased at the cost of Cheyne Walk and Lombard Street; and

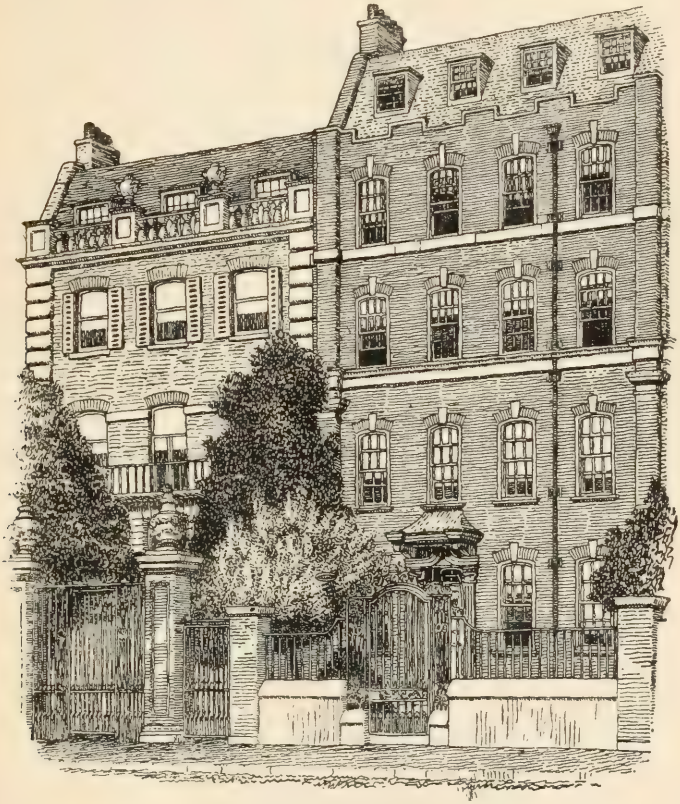


FIG. 36.—IN CHEYNE WALK.

although some may be satisfied with the great Dutch-Renaissance houses, ignorantly styled "Queen Anne," which now line the Embankment, they have utterly destroyed the charm of the old water-side. What the old river fronts of Lombard Street and Duke Street

looked like are shown in the sketches of "The Waterman's Arms" (fig. 31) and "The Adam and Eve" (fig. 32), the latter of which was admirably etched by Whistler. The destruction of Paradise Row, though later in date, resulted from the new embankment roads; but the memory of the place is preserved in the building of "Paradise" chapel (fig. 33), which perhaps the ladies of the Row would scarcely have frequented, and the lane called "Paradise Walk," down which they generally went to take their boats.

Of old Chelsea two important buildings only survive, the "Old Church" and the Royal Military Hospital. The latter, still called by the old inhabitants the "College," has not escaped scatheless. After the Embankment was made, they destroyed the old Dutch gardens and avenues of limes, and, because they could not, or would not, keep them clean, they filled up the ornamental canals. Of the rest of old Chelsea, a few houses remain in Danvers Street and Cheyne Walk (figs. 34, 35, and 36); but, save these, the Chelsea of a hundred years ago is only a memory.

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL

By the Rev. W. Done Bushell, F.S.A.

THE writer who endeavours to pourtray the history of Harrow-on-the-Hill is tempted to commence, if not in geological, yet at least in Roman times, for it would seem that Roman bricks are to be found in the church, both in the walls and at the bases of the columns of the nave arcade. No other traces have, however, been discovered of a Roman occupation of the Hill, or none at least of any importance; and it is, therefore, better for us to remember that these bricks, if genuine at all, as probably they are, may have been brought from Sulloniacæ, a Roman station on the Edgware Road, or from some other place, and to pass on at once to later times.

Perhaps, then, we may be content to begin by saying that, these few bricks excepted, the oldest thing we have at Harrow is the name itself, and that that name is to be found as far back as the year 767, when, in a grant of Offa, King of Mercia, it appears under the form of Gumeninga Hearge, that is to say, the Shrine of the Sons of Gumen; for Heargh, the nominative of Hearge, means a Temple or a Sacred Grove. And from Heargh, with its genitive Hearges, and its dative Hearge, are derived both Harrow itself, and Herga, which was long its Latin equivalent; for Gumeninga Heargh would commonly be called "æt Hearge," and from this name would come the Latin Herga; whilst, side by side with Herga, there would be.

in the mouths of the people, a rougher form like Harewe, which we find in the historian Matthew Paris, and which connects the present Harrow with the original Heargh.

From 767 we pass to 823, when Cwoenthryth, daughter of Cenulf, King of Mercia, gave to Wulfred, then Archbishop of Canterbury, lands upon the Hill and in the immediate neighbourhood, inaugurating thus that close connexion between Harrow and the archbishops, which subsisted, with but little interruption, until 1545, when Archbishop Cranmer surrendered the Harrow manors to the King.

The archbishops, who thus in course of time became the lords of the manor, would not be slow to provide for those who lived upon their hill the ministrations of a priest; and in the will of a certain Werhard, of the early date of 830, there is some evidence that such provision had even then been made; whilst in *Domesday Book* we find a priest at Harrow with an endowment of a hide of land. There was therefore probably in Anglo-Saxon times, and, as we may perhaps assume, upon the same site as the existing church, a wooden predecessor of the present building, such as we find to-day in Norway and elsewhere, where wood is plentiful, as oak and beech were plentiful of old in Middlesex. Of such a church, however, no trace now remains, unless we are prepared to find some evidence of its existence in the position which the tower has always occupied, the west end of the building being the ordinary place for Saxon towers, but rather an unusual situation in a Norman church.

But, be this as it may, a church, constructed, to some extent at least, of stone, was built by Lanfranc during the reign of William the Conqueror. Lanfranc, however, did not live to see it finished; it was consecrated, not by him, but by St. Anselm, his successor, in 1094, as he was on his way to Canterbury from the King's court at Gloucester, where he had, much against his will, been forced into the archbishopric. The Bishop of London

opposed the consecration on the ground that the archbishop was intruding into his diocese; and, when all other means of opposition had failed, despatched, as was believed, one of his clerks to steal the sacred oil, and so effectually to checkmate the intrusive Metropolitan. At all events, upon the day appointed for the ceremony, the sacred oil was stolen by a clerk, who had come over, as it appeared, from London; and it was only recovered, so says the historian Eadmar, by a miracle which he relates. All opposition, however, lawful or unlawful, was eventually overcome, and in the month of January, 1094, the archbishop, clothed in his episcopal insignia, took his place in front of the west door, attended by his choristers, and there recited the accustomed words, *Ecce Crucis signum, fugiant phantasmata cuncta!*

Lo, the Cross with saving light!
Hence, ye spectres of the night!

And so the church was duly consecrated by the archbishop, and from that time the bishops of London had but little to do with Harrow until quite recent days; indeed, until the nineteenth century the parish was not in their diocese at all, but formed a part of the Archdeaconry of Croydon, in the Diocese of Canterbury. The archbishops, however, on their part, maintained for several centuries an intimate connexion with the Hill and its surroundings, which, as *Domesday* tells us, constituted an important manor, with food sufficient for two thousand swine; and when the priests developed into rectors, they were collated to the rectory by the archbishops. Nor were the archbishops personally strangers to the Hill. We find Archbishop Theobald, for instance, holding his court at Harrow, and there admitting into his household the young St. Thomas, generally called a' Becket. St. Thomas also was himself at Harrow at least three times; first, on the occasion just referred to, when, as men were glad to recollect in

later days, his hostess dreamed she saw him sitting on the roof of the church, his vestment hanging down, and covering the whole edifice; again, in the earlier days of his archbishopric, when certain emissaries came from Rome and found him on the Hill; and yet again, but a few days before his death, when, in December, 1170, he was visited at Harrow by the abbot of St. Albans. Again, in the year 1250, we find Archbishop Boniface at Harrow, having gone down to his country manor to escape the righteous vengeance of the London citizens, which he had certainly well deserved by knocking down and pummelling with archiepiscopal fist the prior of St. Bartholomew's, and that in his own choir, and whilst the holy office was being said. Again, we find that Archbishop Winchelsey held an ordination in his "Chapel of Harewe," wherever that may have been, on April 9th, 1302; and, lastly, William Wittlesey dates in 1368 from Headstone Grange, a well-known farmhouse in the immediate neighbourhood, then belonging to the archbishops.

A notable departure was, however, taken in the reign of Henry III. Some time between the years 1234 and 1240, in the archbishopric of Edmund Rich, called otherwise St. Edmund de Pontigny, the vicarage was permanently endowed; and this endowment synchronized with the completion, after long delay, of the rebuilding of the church. These two achievements stereotyped for a considerable time the ecclesiastical arrangements of the place. A chantry, called the Chantry of the Blessed Mary, was founded, it is true, by William de Bosco, one of the Harrow rectors, in 1324; but, with this one exception, the rebuilding of the church and the endowment of the vicarage in the thirteenth century not only gave to the organization of the parish a permanent form, which it retained until the Reformation, but at the same time rendered any further alterations of importance in the church itself unnecessary for a lengthened period.

And so, for some three centuries, there were at Harrow three important personages. There was, first, the Archbishop, who was lord of the manor of Harrow, and, on a vacancy, presented to the rectory, which was a sinecure; and there was, secondly, the Rector, who was lord of the subsidiary manor of the Rectory of Harrow Hill, and, on a vacancy, presented to the vicarage; and there was, thirdly, the Vicar, upon whom devolved the service of the altar and the cure of souls. Their residences were presumably the Harrow Manor House, the Rectory, and Vicarage respectively. And there is no doubt as to where the rectory and vicarage stood. As early as the time of Edmund Rich the vicarage already occupied its present site; and what is now the Grove was certainly the Harrow rectory; but where the archbishop lay when he was at Harrow is not so clear; there was presumably a Harrow Manor House; but if so its position has not been ascertained. He may, however, have lain at the foot of the London Hill, for in an inventory taken in 1397 there is mention made of a Grange with a chapel attached, which probably then occupied the site of a farm now called Hundred Elms; and in that case this chapel would be Archbishop Winchelsey's "Chapel of Harewe." In later times, however, he is known to have occupied from time to time the moated grange of Headstone, which was purchased by Archbishop Stratford in the reign of Edward III. Besides the archbishop, the rector, and the vicar, there was also, after 1324, a chantry priest attached to the parish church, known as the chaplain of the Blessed Mary, with an endowment at Hatch End; and there were chaplains both at Pinner, and at Tokynton, near Wembley.

Amongst the rectors there were men of mark. We find, for example, Geoffrey de Everley, the King's Ambassador to Spain; Raymund Pelegrini de Rapistagno, Cardinal and Papal Nuncio; Guy de Mona, Bishop of St. Davids and Treasurer of England; Robert Kyrkeham, Master of the Rolls; William Bolton, Prior of

St. Bartholomew's; Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of London and Durham; and Richard Layton, Dean of York, whose ruthless and all-powerful hands laid waste those many splendid edifices which made England in his time an architectural delight. There is an interesting story told of Prior Bolton, which may be mentioned here. It had been predicted that on the first day of February, 1524, the waters of the Thames would rise to such a height as to wash away ten thousand of the London houses. This prophecy was widely credited, and it is said that by the middle of January twenty thousand persons had deserted the doomed city. Amongst them was the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, who came, we are told, with all his household, and with the officers and brethren of the priory, to a sort of fortress which he had built at Harrow at very great expense and victualled for two months, providing also boats and rowers in case the flood should rise above the summit of the hill. His trouble, however, was all in vain; there was no flood; and for a time the prophets were in danger of their lives; but in the nick of time they happily discovered that in their calculations they had made a mistake of just a hundred years. So runs the tale; but we may be perhaps allowed to suspect that all that Prior Bolton did was to repair the Harrow parsonage, and that without much reference to any prophesied catastrophe.

There is a tradition also that Cardinal Wolsey was rector of Harrow, and that he resided at Headstone Grange. The list of rectors, however, does not contain his name, nor is there any proof that the illustrious statesman was at any time connected with the Hill.

In 1544 and 1545 the manor of Harrow, with its hamlets, and also the Harrow rectory, were surrendered by Archbishop Cranmer to King Henry VIII. in exchange for other lands; and on January 5th, 1547, the manor of Harrow was granted by the King to Sir Edward (afterwards Lord) North and his wife; the manor of the

Rectory of Harrow Hill, with the tithes and parsonage, having been previously granted to Christ Church, Oxford, by a Charter of Dotation dated December 11th, 1546. The college did not, however, long retain the lordship, for in the first year of King Edward VI. the rectory manor was, with the advowson of the vicarage and the glebe, aliened by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church to Sir Edward North, subject to a yearly rent of twenty marks, which is still paid. The great tithes were, however, excepted from the grant, and Christ Church is in consequence the present owner of the corn rents and of the lands awarded in lieu of tithes. The united manors, with the advowson of the vicarage, remained in possession of the Norths until 1630, when they were sold to Edmund Phillips and George and Rowland Pitt, Esqrs. From the Pitts they passed to the Rushout family, by the marriage of James Rushout, Esq., who was created a baronet in 1661, with Alice, daughter of Edmund Pitt, Esq.; and with that family they still remain.

With 1545 the mediæval history of Harrow comes to an end; but a new and larger life awaited it. There had probably been for several centuries a school at a church-house which adjoined the rectory domain. There is, at least, good evidence that a school existed on the hill in Mary's reign, and that it was held at the church-house in 1596 (Howson & Warner, *Harrow School*, p. 9); and we find that in 1557 a Harrow boy, one of the Gerards, a distinguished Harrow family, became an undergraduate of Caius College, Cambridge. As early also as 1384 the goods of a bond tenant were seized, because he, "against the will of the lord, placed his son at school in remote parts to learn the liberal arts." This seems to imply a possibility of adequate instruction being found for him at Harrow. But, be this as it may, the confiscation of the chantries, which in numerous instances supplied the masters of the English parish schools, together with

the spoliation of the parishes themselves at the commencement of King Edward's reign, had a disastrous effect upon the education of the country, an effect which found but a partial remedy in the establishment of the Edwardian Grammar Schools; and Harrow probably suffered much from Cranmer's surrender of the manors. So in 1572, John Lyon, a country gentleman of Preston, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Harrow, obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter to enable him again to build the walls of Zion, *scholam de novo erigere.* The work, however, was not commenced at once. John Lyon died in October, 1592, and although he had until his death paid yearly for the schooling of no less than thirty of the parish children, yet it was not until he had been dead some sixteen years that in 1608 the erection of the school buildings was commenced. Nor were these buildings of any great importance. There was a schoolroom, now known as the Fourth Form Room, and over it accommodation for the master and the usher. Above their rooms were attics, now known as the Cock Loft, and in the basement cellars, divided into three parts, for wood and coal for the use of the master, usher, and scholars, as provided for by the founder's statutes. A separate house for the master was however erected in 1650.

Scanty as this accommodation seems to us to have been, especially when we remember that the master was empowered to receive boys from outside, termed by the statutes "foreigners," yet, strange to say, it was, with the master's house, found to be adequate for teaching purposes until the year 1819, when a new wing was added to the old school-house.

The school-house, thus enlarged, sufficed again until 1839, when a school chapel was built; and it was only in 1855 that the appliances for teaching were extended by the addition of the New School. Since 1855 however there has been, thanks mainly to the generosity of old

Harrovians, rapid and continuous growth. A library, art school, gymnasium, music and science schools, museum, workshop, fives and racquet courts, football and cricket fields, and various schoolrooms have been added in quick succession, until the school to-day stands well equipped in all the multifarious appliances so necessary to the fulness of its life.

But, during the long interval from 1608 to 1839, the church remained, as it had always been of old, a common meeting-place for school and town. Indeed, until the actual consecration of a separate chapel for their use in 1857, the boys of Harrow School shared in the worship offered in the church. In 1668 a gallery was built for them in the north aisle; another, erected under the tower, was assigned to the senior boys; and in these galleries sat Sheridan and Byron, Peel and Percival, Palmerston and Sydney Herbert, Bishop Perry and Lord Shaftesbury, with many another of high renown, and many also of the faithful, who themselves were never famous, but who in Church and State spread far and wide the reputation of the little village. Lord Byron, writing in 1826 from Italy, can quote the epitaph of Thomas Ryves which used to face him in his boyhood as he sat, not always very patiently perhaps, in the north gallery, and listened to the lengthy sermons of the day. The church served for the parish and the school alike. There the boys worshipped. There their masters preached, and in due time were buried. And those who now are privileged to offer up their prayers within its walls may do well to remember how these centuries of youthful aspiration consecrate its stones and mingle with the maturer prayers of many generations of parishioners.

In the fabric of the church itself there is much to interest the architectural student. It has behind it a long history. There was, first, the Norman church which Lanfranc built in the time of William the Conqueror; and which was consecrated, not indeed by him, but by

St. Anselm, his successor in the archbishopric, in the year 1094. And of Lanfranc's church we have perhaps some little portion still remaining. The lower part of the tower is Norman work, and certain of its many buttresses are Norman also, as their characteristic width and flatness certify. We also find in it two very early windows, which have been lately opened out; so that, as it would seem, we still have in this portion of the church some work which may be ascribed with probability to the archbishop and his builders. In this, however, we must not include the western doorway and the double lancet over it, which are of a later date. The bases also of the columns of the nave-arcade may possibly belong to the original church; but that is all. There is, indeed, an incomplete arch opening into the northern transept, which at first sight seems to wear a Norman aspect; but it is soon found on examination to be only an alteration of an Early English bay, which was in later times thus mutilated to provide an easy access to the rood-loft, or for some other purpose; the staircase to the rood-loft, although now blocked up, existing still in the interior of the north-west chancel pier. The life, however, of a church consists, as does that of the human body, in its continuity. The stones may be renewed from time to time, and even its appearance largely modified, without impairing its identity; and therefore, having due regard to its life history, we may, with little impropriety, if any, claim that the existing church is that which Lanfranc built and in which St. Anselm prayed.

However, if we have but little left in it of the eleventh century, we have at least one very interesting relic of the twelfth in the west doorway, which, with its zigzag mouldings, dates from about 1140, and was therefore, though no part of course of the original building, an insertion, like the arch of the west window over it, made in Norman times. The lintel of the door is curiously

depressed, but seems to occupy its old position. The tympanum was probably in some way plainly ornamented, but may have possibly been filled with sculpture.

The beautiful font is of somewhat later date, and is to be assigned to the latter part of the twelfth century; it is of a Transitional, or even of a very early Early

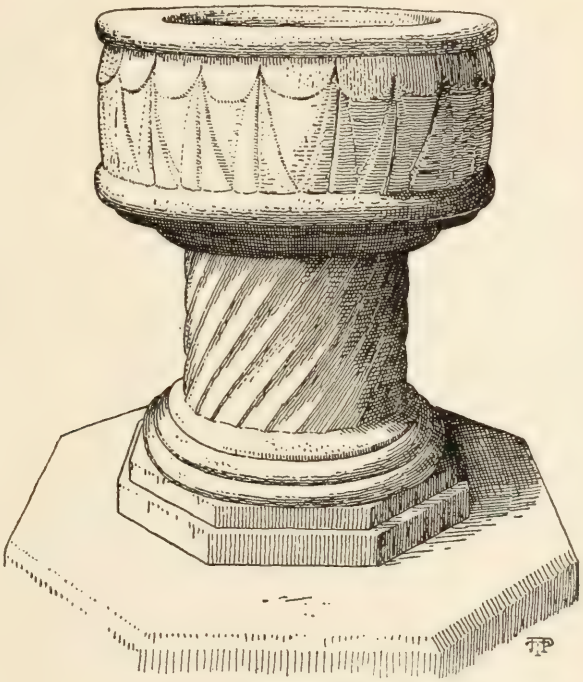


FIG. 37.—THE FONT, HARROW.

English character; but we may best consider it in connexion with the Norman rather than with the Early English church, as it was probably placed within the sacred edifice before the Early English reconstruction was commenced. It is a very fine design in Purbeck marble (fig. 37). And it has its history. It held its place in the church for upwards of six hundred years; but in

1800 it appears to have been stowed away as lumber, and to have been finally ejected from the building in disgrace. The leaden lining was torn out, and it was ignominiously rolled about, and would have probably perished altogether but for the hospitality of Mrs. Leith, a Harrow dame who then lived at the vicarage. She, of her charity, took it in, and in her garden it stood for many years, until, in 1846, after an exile lasting nearly half a century, the energy of Mr. William Winckley, jun., who was then vestry clerk, restored it to the church, of which it is, and will, we trust, remain for many a generation, one of the chief treasures. It may be well to add, to point the moral, that the intruding font was, in the irony of fate, ejected in its turn, and now does menial work, as did its predecessor, in another garden in the parish.

But with the insertion of the western doorway, and possibly some other alterations, the parish church of Harrow remained for more than a hundred years the Norman church of Lanfranc and St. Anselm. Like other Norman churches, it possessed most probably its massive nave-arcade, but it is well to notice that it never possessed a central tower, as did so many churches of that period; the tower stood always where it stands to-day; and it is possible that this may point to an original Saxon ground-plan, for in Saxon times the tower stood nearly always at the west end of the church.

The Norman church, which probably had fallen into disrepair—as well it might, if its walls, like those of the existing tower, had no foundations—was, in the early part of the thirteenth century, succeeded by an Early English church. The work of reconstruction, it is clear, began at the east end. The chancel, as it was then erected, has, however, long since passed away. Much of the Early English work was probably replaced by Decorated in the fourteenth century, and in a restoration carried out by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1849 it was rebuilt. We have now, therefore, nothing left of it besides the

THE CHURCH, HARROW-ON-THE-HILL.

chancel arch and the south wall, which still contains the remains of certain early lancet windows lately brought to light. These windows are of a very early Early English type indeed, and date from about the year 1200. When, however, we turn to the nave, we find that the arcading was not finished until the thirteenth century was well advanced. Why this long interval was suffered to elapse between the building of the chancel and of the nave we do not know. Perhaps there was a settlement, as certain indications at the west end of the nave-arcading seem to render probable; there may have been want of funds; but certainly there was an interval; and it may be that in the wall-space which now separates the transept arches from the eastern arches of the nave-arcade, and which it is not easy to interpret otherwise, we have an indication of a wall which ran across the church from north to south and formed for a time its western boundary, the eastern portion only being then in use, the nave, and possibly the transepts, lying in a ruinous or an unfinished state. The massive cylindrical columns of the nave, though certainly erected in the thirteenth century, have an archaic aspect, and may have very possibly been modelled on their Norman predecessors; their bases may have belonged, as has been previously suggested, to the original Norman church.

Above the nave arcading, as the work went on, was placed an Early English clerestory, of probably no great height, with a range of windows, traces of the inner jambs of which are visible above the piers. The double lancet in the tower was, at about the time the nave-arcade was built, inserted into the semi-circular head of an older window. The staircase turret also is of the first half of the thirteenth century; and when the church had been thus rebuilt, two admirable wooden doors were hung, one on the north and one on the south side of the edifice, of which we have, happily, one remaining still, removed, however, from the south porch to its present

place by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1849. It should be added that the northern doorway, with its mouldings, has been very little tampered with, and is an interesting specimen of thirteenth century work; the northern porch, however, is new.

The chancel, when it was rebuilt at the commencement of the thirteenth century, possessed a range of lancet windows on the south, and possibly another also on the northern side. The remains of three of those in the south wall were brought to light in 1894, the splays of the jambs retaining much of the original colouring, together with some chevron work of probably the fifteenth century. One also of the shoulders at the springing of the arch on the inner side was found intact, and is of a very archaic type indeed. But little, however, was recovered, except this shoulder and the three splays. The restoration, therefore, then effected must be regarded as an approximation only, though no doubt a close one, to the original work. The position, for example, of the two external members of the range upon the east and west, if such there were, could not be fixed, nor could the exact breadth of the original openings be determined.

The church was thus, about the year 1240, finished on its present lines, and probably remained intact for another century, when, as it would appear, the Early English chancel was remodelled in the Decorated style then prevalent. Of this, indeed, we have no certain evidence, but there are some considerations which tend to make it probable. Lysons, indeed, goes further, and in his *Environs of London*, published in 1795, informs us that the entire church was rebuilt in the fourteenth century. This is, of course, in flagrant contradiction to the architectural evidence; but of the chancel only it may be true, and if Sir Gilbert Scott, when he rebuilt the chancel, did so in the Decorated rather than in the Early English style, it was perhaps because he had found remains in it of Decorated work.

Another hundred years elapsed, and then, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the church was once more reconstructed, and by no mean architect. To him, whoever he may have been, we owe the Perpendicular roof and famous spire. In place of its little Early English predecessor, he raised the stately clerestory we now behold, and which has lately been adorned with stained-glass windows, setting forth the early history of Harrow; and over all he placed a magnificent timber roof, corbelled on life-sized figures of the twelve Apostles, now unfortunately badly mutilated. For this sad mutilation the blame is laid, we may remark in passing, upon Cromwell's soldiery; but, be this as it may, the figures still survive, and only ask, as does the roof itself, to be cleansed from successive coats of oil. The fifteenth century restorer also raised the outer walls of the two aisles, which, as their slope, or batter, shows, were only about ten feet high, and placed in them the present windows. He further built the south porch, which, however, has been somewhat altered by Sir Gilbert Scott, and gave us the little room above it, called a parvise, the interior of which he enriched with a painted roof, and with a fine stone niche upon the eastern wall, on which much of the original colouring remains; whilst, with an astonishing audacity, which we can best appreciate when we remember that the tower had very slight foundations, as is shown by the many huge, unshapely buttresses which have been added from time to time, he placed on it another story, and on that again the well-known Harrow spire, a splendid piece of carpentry.

The church had now attained to its full growth; its architectural development was at an end, and for a century it was, in its magnificence, the scene of an elaborate worship. These were its palmy days. Its youth was over, but its decay had not yet begun. The Reformation brought with it, however, confiscation

and neglect. A long decline ensued. Much damage is laid, of course, at Cromwell's door, who is said, and with probably very slight foundation for the story, to have stabled his horses in the nave; but though the mutilated figures of the Apostles no doubt witness to deliberate injury, neglect had probably far more to do with the decay than Puritan fanaticism. Men for a long time set but little value on the externals of their worship; the archbishops and the rectors, once so closely bound up with the Hill, had passed away from it; the great tithes were spent elsewhere. And so decay set in. Strange things were done. The church was filled with galleries, one stretching right across the chancel like the well-known Cambridge Golgotha of former days. The ground floor of the tower was dedicated to the use of the parish fire-brigade, who were enabled thus to keep their engine on the highest spot in Harrow. The church was closed for six days in the week, and on the rare occasion of an offertory, pewter plates were borrowed from the nearest public-house. A few important additions were, however, made to the church in the course of these three centuries, including the mural monument of William Gerard, Esq., and his sister, to which belong the kneeling figures, carved in alabaster, now in the north transept; and also the Jacobean pulpit, which was presented by a Mr. Tanner Arnold in 1708. We may add that in 1765 the spire was struck by lightning, and that in September, 1815, it had again a narrow escape from being destroyed by a fire, which did considerable damage.

The Gerard monument is, however, a wreck, large portions of it, now in an enclosure in the churchyard, having only recently been brought back from a garden below Sudbury Hill; whilst, on its part, the pulpit has, and that in recent times, been shorn successively of sounding-board, of back-board, pedestal, and stairs. The chancel was also allowed to fall into a sad condition,

and was in 1786 in such a ruinous state that it was dangerous to enter it. There was, it was said, not a whole pane of glass left in the windows; there were large cracks in the wall; "and," adds the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by whom these facts are recorded, "no neighbouring gentleman would consent to stable his cattle in such a place."

But when things come to the worst they mend, and in 1847 the restoration of the church was entrusted to Sir Gilbert Scott. No better architect could have been chosen at that time, and yet it must be admitted that the execution of the work left much to be desired. The exterior of the church he faced with flints, obliterating much of the testimony which it doubtless bore to its past history. The rebuilding of the chancel was most likely unavoidable; but it is hard to understand why he replaced the north wall, with, as is not improbable, an ancient range of lancet windows in it, by the present mean arcade. The monuments were freely shifted from their old positions, and were otherwise maltreated. Upon the north of the chancel was built up a shapeless aisle, of very little architectural merit, with a vestry attached; and though the unsightly galleries were taken away, and many of the ravages of time made good, yet much was done which certainly would not now be tolerated, and which can only be forgiven when we remember how imperfectly the principles of restoration were at that time understood, even by great authorities. Such as it was, however, it was a substantial work, and we retain a church which still shows many noble features, and from which we can infer the details of an architectural development of at least eight hundred years.

It may be added that the church is rich in monumental brasses, including one to John Byrkhede, who was rector when the spire was built.

The original school building is also well worth an examination. The Fourth Form Room, on the walls of

which are carved the names of Peel and Byron and of other celebrated Harrovians, is one of the most characteristic specimens in the country of a Jacobean schoolroom; and the original building, forming as it does the west wing of the present edifice, still stands as it left the builders' hands, an admirable piece of brickwork. It should be observed, however, that the great south window was inserted in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Of the modern buildings the most successful is perhaps the museum, which is the work of Mr. Basil Champneys. The library is by Sir Gilbert Scott, the unfinished speech-room by William Burges, and, with the chapel and the art and music schools, are, though by no means faultless, well deserving of attention. The chapel has been developed out of an earlier structure due to Dr. Wordsworth when headmaster in 1838; and, if we bear in mind the limitations thus imposed, has an interior which is very creditable to the architects, Sir Gilbert Scott and his successor Sir Aston Webb. The music school is the work of an old Harrovian, Mr. E. S. Prior.

Besides the church and school there are but few memorials of much interest left upon the Hill. The archbishops, however, had two granges, one at Sudbury and another at Headstone, both at the foot of the Hill, that on the south being at a farm called Hundred Elms, that on the north being on the right hand of the road to Pinner. Here they resided from time to time, and at the moated grange at Headstone there are still some scanty fragments of old work, whilst there is also to be seen at the Hundred Elms a very interesting specimen of mediæval brickwork. The offices also of the Harrow Electric Light and Power Company exhibit some remains of domestic architecture of perhaps the fourteenth century; whilst in the churchyard there are many monuments which keep alive the memory of those connected with the church and school in former years. The view from the

HARROW: THE OLD SCHOOL.

churchyard terrace is extensive, reaching as far as Nettlebed, which is some forty miles to the west, including also Windsor and the high ground to the south of the Thames. Close to the terrace also, and enclosed by an iron railing, is the tomb upon which Byron used to lie when a Harrow boy.

Of Royal visits to Harrow there have no doubt been numerous instances of which the memory has perished. We know, however, that King John kept greyhounds on the Hill, and it is very likely, therefore, that he came himself to hunt with them. The third Henry dates from Harrow; whilst his successor, Edward I., was here upon at least six different occasions. In later times we find that Charles I., on Monday, April 27th, 1646, passed through the village on his flight from Oxford, starting thence at three o'clock in the morning, and sleeping, after what was certainly a very long day's ride, at Wheathampstead, beyond St. Albans. In the summer of 1804, George III. drove over from Windsor; whilst Queen Victoria drove, on more than one occasion, from Bentley Priory, the temporary residence of H.M. Adelaide, the Queen Dowager, to enjoy the view from the terrace, and, with Prince Albert, visited the school and church on November 16th, 1848. A copy of the register of Queen Adelaide's death is to be seen in the vestry. Visits have also been received from Louis Philippe, from the late Queen of Holland, from the King of Siam, and from King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra; whilst, as an unusual incident of school-boy life, it may be worth recording that on the first of January, 1870, it was given to a Harrow boy, then Duke of Genoa, to decline the crown of Spain. John Lyon lived when Spain was Arbiter of Christendom and Mistress of the Indies; much would the founder of the humble grammar-school have marvelled could he have foreseen such instability of national greatness!

RIVERSIDE HAUNTS OF POETS AND PAINTERS

By Warwick Draper

A THAMES-SIDE wayfarer now really enters "London" from the west at Kew Bridge. Above it the great stream, strong in the ebb and flow of its tide, leaves a noble reach flanked by the beauties of Kew Gardens on the Surrey side, and on the north, or Middlesex shore, by the honest ugliness of Brentford, below the stately lawns of Syon House. Below it the denseness and the hum of London begin to be felt—*confusæ sonus urbis et illætabile murmur.* It is the point where it is less easy to continue thinking of the happy spirits who, in Tudor or Stuart days, sped in their barges up or down the stream between the goals of Hampton Court and Westminster, than to begin to wonder at the magnitude of "the great wen," our London with its proud record and its teeming mass of chaotic municipal life. We seem to leave the scenes of amenity which Thomson and Pope frequented, and in which Turner, sent as a lad to school at Brentford, "opposite the Three Pigeons," must have imbibed his glorious passion for the picturesque. We approach the sounding city where William Morris, "a rock of defence to us all, and a castle on the top of

it, and a banner on the top of that," found occasion, amid his creative work as poet and craftsman, to preach, with ardent optimism, the modern Gospel of Discontent.

But between Kew Bridge and Hammersmith Bridge, by the stream that still smiles and glitters in sunshine as it has for centuries, the Middlesex shore offers a walk curiously full of literary and artistic associations. These naturally become more "urban" in their tone with the march of time, as the metropolis to the east has spread itself out to absorb the villages of Hammersmith and Chiswick. The healthiness of the area, the fertility of its gardens, and the perpetual attractions of the river have for the last two centuries made it the resort and abode of many poets and artists. The great curves of the Thames, the low reservoirs for London's water supply, which, opposite Chiswick, defy the suburban builder, and the spacious tracts of Richmond Park, Kew Gardens, Barnes Common, and Wimbledon to the south, all still contrive, as they have for many generations, to keep this strip fresh and open. An unspoiled sunshine and a river once again (thanks to good London local government) comparatively free from pollution, give a zest to the walk down the river bank which the pedestrian can enjoy free from the peril of motor-traffic and the din of the modern highway.

Let us, at least in imagination, start our walk from Kew Bridge by Strand-on-the-Green (fig. 38). Even of the buildings there is much here that must have been observed by Pope and Thomson. Pope, who, in spite of some ridiculous affectations which he borrowed from his age, and a half-hypocritical trickery which he owed, perhaps, to the rickety framework of his physique, was undisputed king of English poetry for thirty years, and, what is more to the point, "redeemed verse from unholy uses to present to the reader none but true thoughts and

noble expressions." Pope must often have passed this way from his home at Twickenham to Chiswick House; and previously, from 1716 to 1718, he lived lower down at No. 5, Mawson Terrace, in Chiswick Lane, translating Homer. It seems impossible to fix an earlier literary association for Chiswick, unless we think of Sir Philip Sidney's gracious mother, who dated letters there in

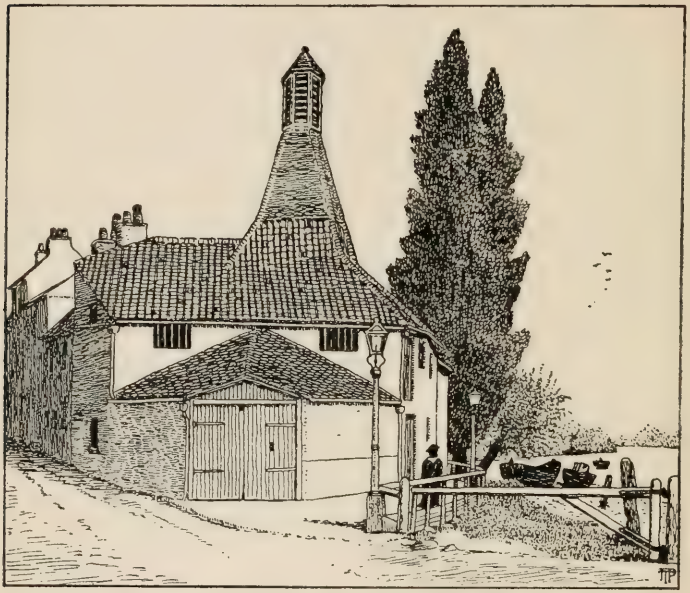


FIG. 38.—ENTRANCE TO STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

1547 from her home. Evelyn, the diarist, was only a visitor on October 30th, 1682, when he "went with my Lady Fox to survey her building . . . at Chiswick . . . the garden much too narrow, the place without water, near a highway and near the great house of my Lord Burlington, little land about it, so that I wonder at the expense; but women will have their will." Of Pope's residence, however, there is no doubt; there

were bits of the "Iliad" written frugally on the backs of letters addressed

To Mr. Pope, at his house in ye New Buildings, Chiswick.

Thomson, who died in 1748 from the indirect results of an imprudent boat journey from Hammersmith to Kew, is thought to have haunted this riverside. As a young man, arriving destitute in London from his native Scotland, he is said to have worked on "Winter," the first of "The Seasons," in the Doves' Tavern on Hammersmith Upper Mall. There is real reason to suppose that the man whom it is now the fashion to admire tamely, but who, by his art, adorned a keen observation of natural phenomena and a high-pitched patriotism, was familiar with these reaches of the Thames. David Mallet, his collaborator in the masque of "Alfred," which was played by Garrick at Drury Lane, and includes the original "Rule, Britannia," was a resident on Strand-on-the-Green. Here, too, died Joe Miller, the facetious, in August of 1738, though it is easier to praise him as one who gave men mirth, than as a literary man or artist. Zoffany, who lived the last twenty years of his adventurous life as a painter in England, died (perhaps at the home still called "Zoffany House" on Strand-on-the-Green) on November 11th, 1810 (fig. 39). His lively canvases, sometimes quite charming in their effect and now enjoying a revival of favour among the arbiters of painting, give a full record of the social manners of his day. They suggest that in his old age (he was born in 1733) he enjoyed a prosperity undreamed of in his youth, when he was found starving in a Drury Lane garret by Rimbault the clockmaker, who gave him clock-faces to paint with moving figures, or when, as "drapery-painter" to Benjamin Wilson, he was passing rich on £40 a year. In St. George's Church, Old Brentford, he left a memorial of his art in an altar-piece of "The Last Supper"; for St. Peter he is said to have sat

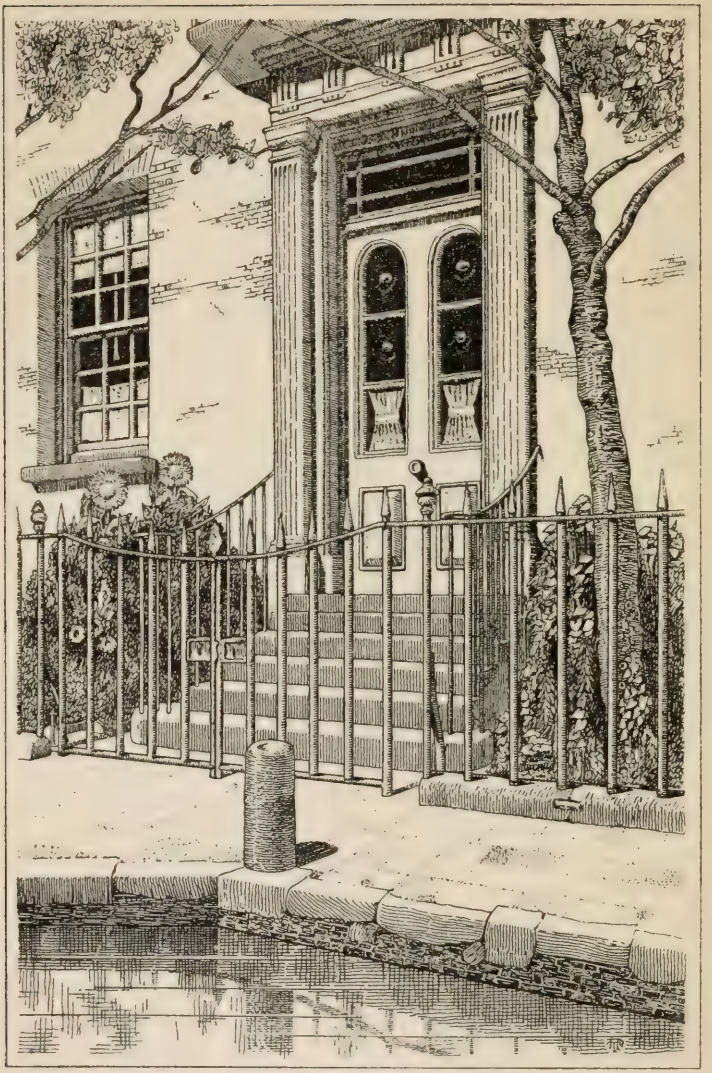


FIG. 39.—ZOFFANY HOUSE.

to himself, the others being portraits of local fishermen, who came to be known by their Apostolic names, much to the disgust of the wife of "Judas"!

At the east end of Strand-on-the-Green the wayfarer has to leave the river for a while to cross the somewhat uninspiring district of Grove Park and Sutton Court, where, two centuries ago or more, the Earl of Fauconberg had a garden-maze, spoken of as a rival to that of Hampton Court. Crossing the railway to reach Burlington Lane, you are soon abreast of the spacious grounds of Chiswick House, where a tract of orchards hides the river from the view which the lords of Burlington were wont to enjoy, and which is suggested not only by Kip's well-known print of the original mansion, but by the engravings of its successor (fig. 40). In this paper only the literary associations of a house which is elaborately treated elsewhere in this volume, call for some attention. It was Lord Hervey who described the curious erection of "the architect earl" as "too small to inhabit and too large to hang to one's watch." He less kindly thus apostrophised Burlington:

> Possessed of one great hall for state,
> Without one room to sleep or eat;
> How well you build let flattery tell,
> And all mankind how ill you dwell."

It is said that the great Jean Jacques Rousseau, who was driven to this country by the outcry against "Emile" and the "Contrat Social," and boarded for a time at a small grocer's shop in Chiswick, where he learnt English words and attracted many customers, was once conducted into Chiswick House, and there stood before a portrait of Charles I. murmuring "Il a l'air du malheur." Amongst a multitude of notable pictures which once hung there was Reynolds' great "Duchess Georgiana and her Baby," obscured on an upper landing! The tale of those whose presence has lent distinction to a spot which nature has made lovely enough by the

beauties of its trees and lawns is a long one; Richard Brinsley Sheridan and his wife; Hare, Pope,[1] and Gray; and Thomson, who wrote:

> Lo! numerous domes a Burlington confess:
> For kings and senates fit, the palace see!
> The temple breathing a religious awe,
> Even fram'd with elegance the plain retreat,
> The private dwelling. Certain in his aim,
> Taste never idly working, saves expense.
>
> (*Liberty*, 691.)

In 1806 Fox, the statesman, closed his unquiet and disappointed life in a small chamber of the peaceful place. Of his brilliant conversation Georgiana the Duchess had said, "He is like a brilliant player at billiards, the strokes follow one another piff-paff!" Grattan, who knew Chatham, Burke, Pitt, Sheridan, Brougham and Canning, said that Fox, during the American War and in his best days, was the finest speaker he had ever heard. Sir George Trevelyan has called him "the life and soul of the stoutest and most disinterested struggle for principle that ever has been fought out by voice and pen." In 1827, on August 8th, only a few days after working for his country at the Foreign Office, Canning died at Chiswick House. It is an echo of remote statesmanship which makes a panegyrist exclaim, "the hopes of millions were buried in his grave." In May of the following year we read of Sir

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1 It was Pope who wrote the lines for the gateway constructed in 1621 by Inigo Jones and presented in 1737 to Earl Burlington by Sir Hans Sloane:

Passenger:

Oh, gate, how cam'st thou here?

Gate:

I was brought from Chelsea last year,
Batter'd with wind and weather;
Inigo Jones put me together—
Sir Hans Sloane
Let me alone,
Burlington brought me hither.

Walter Scott visiting the place between calls upon the Duke of Wellington and at Holland House. His journal describes a Watteau-like scene, and his sense of "the dignity which largeness of size and freedom of movement give to that otherwise very ugly animal"—the elephant. The beauty and peace of the place, which has harboured or stimulated so much poetic and artistic imagination, are now devoted in a beneficent conspiracy

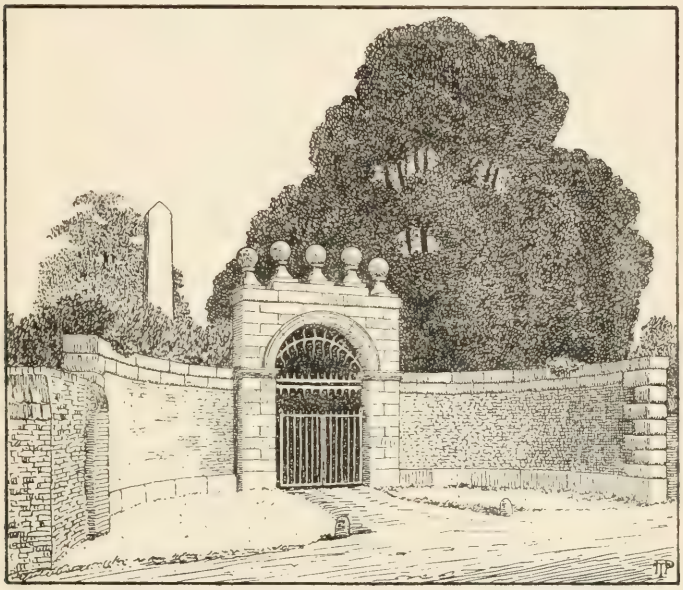

FIG. 40.—THE OBELISK GATE IN BURLINGTON LANE.

with human care and science to the uses of a private asylum for the mentally afflicted.

In 1748 Hogarth cut a wood engraving of "Hymen and Cupid" as a ticket of admission for Thomson's masque of "Alfred." It was in 1743, when he was about forty-five, that Hogarth, the kindly satirist, the preacher in pictures, the lovable dispenser of grim jests, the painter of some admirable portraits, began to spend

his summers in his "little country box at Chiswick." In Hogarth Lane, almost lost in a sadly squalid backwater of riverside Chiswick, the odd little house enshrines a worthy memory behind its high garden-walls. Here Colonel Shipway, the present owner,[1] has, with laudable zeal for a great man's memory, carried out the "judicious repair" for which, as against excessive restoration, Mr. Austin Dobson pleaded over twenty years ago.[2] If we may quote the latter's lively apostrophe to Hogarth's mulberry tree, still healthy in the old garden, what would it not tell us if it could

> plagiarize a heart
> And answer with a voice.

This scarred and blackened trunk, which spring, even now, is dressing with bright leaves, must have known William Hogarth in the flesh! It must have watched him scratching with a nail that homely mural tablet of Dick the bullfinch, which so mysteriously disappeared; it must have watched him playing nine-pins in his filbert avenue, or strutting through the walks in the red roquelaure he wore at Leicester Fields. It must have been acquainted, also, with those friendly guests who filled up the three-cornered inclosure on sunny afternoons. Hither, no doubt, when the *Epistle to William Hogarth* was yet unwritten, Mr. Charles Churchill would stroll with his pointers from Acton, bringing as his companion, it may be, that squinting patriot, "the heaven-born Wilkes." Or, to go back somewhat earlier in time, Dr. Benjamin Hoadley of the "Suspicious Husband" would ride up from Chelsea, or Dr. Ralph would look round to have a chat about the "Analysis," or worthy Justice Welch would make the dusty pilgrimage from Holborn. He it was who wrote that capital description of the "March to Finchley," in Christopher Smart's *Student;* and he has just said goodbye to Fielding at Gravesend. He has little hope of seeing his old colleague again, has honest Welch; and Mr. Ranby, Hogarth's neighbour and the King's Sergeant-Surgeon, shakes his head in confirmation. . . . So, I fancy, they sat and chatted, and puffed at their long pipes of Virginia, under the mulberry-tree in Hogarth's garden, "when George was King."

One may add another conspicuous figure to the group—David Garrick, who said, "I love him as a

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1 Since this was written Colonel Shipway has presented the freehold house and its contents to the Middlesex County Council "in trust for the benefit of the public."

2 *The Century Magazine*, xxxii., p. 185.

Hogarth's House, Chiswick.

friend and revere him as an artist." It was Garrick who composed the famous epitaph which still draws many to the tomb in Chiswick churchyard:

Farewel, great Painter of Mankind!
Who reach'd the noblest point of Art,
Whose pictur'd morals charm the Mind,
And through the Eye correct the Heart.

If Genius fire thee, Reader, stay:
If Nature touch thee, drop a tear;
If neither move thee, turn away,
For Hogarth's honour'd dust lies here.

It was for the former of these verses that Dr. Johnson suggested another:

The Hand of Art here torpid lies
That traced the essential form of grace;
Here Death has closed the curious eyes
That saw the manners in the face.

Of Hogarth's frankly didactic work another kind of critic, Walpole, remarked that "amidst all his pleasantry he observes the true end of comedy—reformation." Lamb lightly touched the core of the matter when he said of the pictures, "They have the teeming fruitful suggestive meaning of *words*. Other prints we look at, his prints we read."

A quaint little etching, by Hogarth, of the Chiswick home, seen from afar by the river over what are now called "Devonshire Meadows," was published long after his death by his widow, Jane, the daughter of Sir James Thornhill, the "Sigismunda" of the National Gallery, who died in 1789, twenty-five years after her husband. Old inhabitants of Chiswick, says Phillips in *A Morning Walk from London to Kew*, long remembered the once handsome dame, transformed by age into a stately old lady, dressed in a silk sacque, with high, crooked cane, raised head-dress, and black calash, whom a faithful and equally ancient man-servant, Samuel, wheeled regularly in her chair to the church, where he carried

her books up the aisle and opened and shut her pew. In the summer she bade the children of the village in to eat the mulberries.

From 1814 to 1826 Hogarth's house was occupied by the Rev. H. F. Cary, the translator of Dante.

Chiswick Mall itself, with its irregular frontage upon a glorious bend of the river, and the greenery of the little garden lawns that skirt the road and face the

FIG. 41.—A CORNER IN CHISWICK.

willow eyot, must surely be the gem of outer London (fig. 41). It has its share of literary memories. Charles Whittingham (1767-1840), the honourable founder of the Chiswick Press, after an apprenticeship to a Coventry printer and bookseller, came to London and took the High House on the Mall, long since destroyed, for the printing of books on home-made paper of a strong and silky texture, manufactured from old ship's-rope with

the tar extracted. He was "an amiable and unassuming man, generally beloved and esteemed." The tribute of such quiet praise may well be paid to the man who produced a multitude of well-printed volumes that still have their niches on the shelves of many a library. Walpole House, which emulates Bedford House for its dignity of domestic architecture, and which is now the home of Mr. Beerbohm Tree, was once the residence of members of the Walpole family, and O'Connell resided there when studying for the Bar. In 1845 it was "a clerical and commercial academy," under a Mr. Allen. A famous tradition, which it were a shame to test too rigorously, identifies it with "Miss Pinkerton's Academy for Young Ladies." What is certain is that Thackeray, as a little lad of six, was in 1817 sent to a boarding-school behind filigree iron gates on Chiswick Mall; that, as Mrs. Ritchie relates in her charming memories of her father, he pointed out to his daughters the corner of the lane by the Hammersmith Road to which he once escaped, and then, being frightened, "ran back to school again, and no one was the wiser"; that, later, in 1828, he frequently went back on half-holidays from Charter-house to play chess and whist with those who had been kind to him at the school. His own drawing in *Vanity Fair* of "Becky flinging Johnson's Dictionary at poor Miss Jemima" shows gates and buildings which the severely critical cannot identify with Walpole House. But it is as certain that Thackeray knew, and, being Thackeray, must have loved this riverside, as it is that "the late revered Doctor Samuel Johnson" must have often paced the Mall, even if he actually wrote no "lines addressed to a young lady on quitting Miss Pinkerton's school." May the fable long endure in peace!

At Orford House, on Chiswick Mall, there lately lived for several years C. J. Cornish, who, in his too brief life, combined active work as a master at St. Paul's School with authorship on subjects of natural history. Among

his charming volumes, the *Naturalist on the Thames* contains a delightful account of Chiswick Eyot, the island of osiers and swans, which he loved to watch, and hoped would always be preserved.

The wayfarer passes from Chiswick into Hammersmith over an inlet from the river by a big bakery opposite the east end of the eyot. Here the road is divided from the river by Hammersmith Terrace, a high row of mid-eighteenth century houses, alleged to be extremely ugly from the north, or street, side. To the south they still enjoy the same sunshine and quiet which they have offered to certain worthies of the past. At No. 16 (as the numbers now go) lived Murphy, barrister and playwright, friend and biographer of Garrick. It is said that Johnson and Goldsmith there visited him. Sir Clifton Wintringham, physician to George III., and Mrs. Mountain, the actress who understudied Mrs. Jordan, resided in other houses; and Philip James de Loutherbourg, the painter, in 1812 died at No. 13, where he lived for many years, even if, as the Surveyor's Assessment Book for 1793 suggests,[1] he had previously occupied two houses further to the east. This remarkable man was probably best known to his own generation for his clever inventiveness in theatrical scenery, with which he served Garrick at a handsome salary at Drury Lane for many years, and earned a whimsical tribute from Sheridan in *The Critic*, and also for the eccentric medical practices with which, as a faith-healer, he nearly wrecked an honourable and courteous career. As an artist he cannot be said to have been inspired; but in the epoch which began with Sandby and culminated in Turner, his influence was felt at an early stage. In the dramatic interpretation of the moods and passions of nature he was a forerunner to Turner himself. It was with his dramatic scenery and clever panoramas, like "A View

1 This and other accurate data for this paper have been given me by Mr. S. Martin, the ever-courteous Borough Librarian of Hammersmith.

Walpole House, Chiswick Mall.

from One Tree Hill in Greenwich Park," and "A Miltonic Review by Satan of his Hosts on the Banks of the Fiery Lake," that he excited the admiration of Gainsborough and Reynolds. But his paintings in the National Gallery, at Greenwich Hospital, and elsewhere, as well as a number of interesting drawings at the British Museum, and his plates for Macklin's enormous Bible, prove him to have been a sincere artist of real capacity.[1]

It is said that Loutherbourg's influence attracted Turner himself to Hammersmith. In 1792, as an extant letter shows, Loutherbourg invited Cosway, the miniaturist, to visit him in "friendship in Him in whom we are united to the highest good." About the same time Turner, a lad in his teens, saw drawings by Loutherbourg among others at Dr. Monro's in the Adelphi. In 1808 Turner began a three years' residence at "West End, Upper Mall, Hammersmith," where he painted the noble "Apollo and the Python" at the National Gallery, and whither he directed that one of the first of the *Liber Studiorum* copper-plates should be brought "by boat" for fear of damage in transit. His house, with an arbour hanging over the river, lay a hundred yards eastwards of "the Terrace," on a site by the oil mills and the Ship Inn identified to the writer by the late F. G. Stephens, a member of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and for many years art critic to the *Athenæum*, who lived long years at Nos. 10 and 9 on the Terrace itself, and had been shown Turner's house by a former resident. The recollection of the Shakespeare of English landscape-painting, who loved these reaches of the Thames almost as much as his beloved Yorkshire dales and fells, observing the effects of changing light and moving water from his watch-house on the edge

1 The writer may be permitted to refer to a fuller account in *The Collectors' Illustrated Circular* for July 23rd, 1904.

of the river, is perhaps the chief art memory of Hammersmith.

It is not difficult to suppose that the walk on Hammersmith Upper Mall, past the noble elms planted by Queen Catherine of Braganza, has often been trod by such residents of Hammersmith as Burney, the Greek scholar, who kept school here from 1786 to 1793; Leigh Hunt, in his old age; S. T. Coleridge, who lived here in 1811; Captain Marryat, the novelist, who lived at Sussex House, Fulham Palace Road, just over the border; Mason, the painter, who resided in Theresa Terrace (lately pulled down), in King Street; and Charles Keene, who lived in the Hammersmith Road. And it is pleasant to think of John Wesley as once having visited Hampshire House, in Hampshire Hog Lane, behind "Little Wapping," now the home of an active working-men's club.

This narrative of a literary and artistic riverside can best be closed with a reference to the famous association of William Morris with Kelmscott House, on the Upper Mall, just west of the narrow passage by the Doves' Inn. This, says Mr. Mackail in his biography,

is a large Georgian house, of a type, ugly without being mean, familiar in the older London suburbs. It is only separated from the river by a narrow roadway, planted with large elms. The river, indeed, was so near a neighbour that at exceptionally high tides it occasionally brimmed over the sill of the water-grate in the low river wall, crossed the roadway, and flooded the cellarage of the house. The parapet along the edge had afterwards to be made continuous to avoid this danger. On bright days the sunlight strikes off the water and flickers over the ceilings; many barges and sailing boats go by with the tide, and the curve of the river opens out two long reaches, up by Chiswick Eyot, with the wooded slopes of Richmond in the background, and down through Hammersmith Bridge. Behind the house a long rambling garden, in successive stages of lawn and orchard and kitchen garden, still preserves some flavour of the country among the ever encroaching mass of building which is gradually swallowing up the scattered cottages, low and roofed with weathered red tiles, that then lay between the river and the high road. The house had some little history; in its garden the inventor of the electric telegraph,

Francis Ronalds, had in 1816 laid eight miles of insulated wires charged with static electricity, and worked by electrometers and synchronized rotating discs at either end. Fragments of his apparatus, the first electric communication ever practically worked, are still preserved in the South Kensington Museum. When Morris took it, it had just been vacated by Dr. George Macdonald, and was known as The Retreat; this name, as rather suggestive of a private asylum, he at once changed, and called it Kelmscott House, after his other home on the banks of the same river. The hundred and thirty miles of stream between the two houses were a real, as well as an imaginative, link between them. He liked to think that the water which ran under his windows at Hammersmith had passed the meadows and grey gables of Kelmscott; and more than once a party of summer voyagers went from one house to the other by water, embarking at their own door in London and disembarking in their own meadow at Kelmscott.

Here Morris lived, when in London, from 1878 till he died in 1896 in his sixty-third year, by the London river which he loved, and almost in the sounding city for whose regeneration he had toiled. In the pages of *News from Nowhere*, in the great finale to *A Dream of John Ball*, and, even better still, in the hearts and aspirations of a growing multitude of fellow-citizens, this big-hearted prophet of the nineteenth century is associated with this London home. As printer and designer he will remain the greatest craftsman of his time; his sincere and virile additions to literature raise him, and will keep him, high among the masters of prose and verse, and even those who disagree with his political theory for practical purposes must admit that more than any man he fought for the true simplicity of life and against the more artificial barriers of our social system.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE BRENT

By J. Tavenor-Perry

SMALL as is the County of Middlesex it yet contains one river which runs its course of some twenty-one miles wholly, with the exception of one short length of an affluent brook, within its confines. This is the river Brent, which gives its name to the county town of Brentford, and which, rising in the high land on the borders of Hertfordshire, pursues a sinuous way through the heart of the County and falls into the Thames about the middle of its course along the southern borders of the shire. The principal springs which form its source are about High Wood Hill to the north of Edgware, and from these start two brooks in opposite directions, which, after meandering along for some nine miles and receiving many little affluents, unite and form the main river. One of these, which may be taken to be the principal stream, takes its way eastward under Totteridge, and, crossing the little piece of Hertfordshire which so curiously thrusts itself into our County, curves round in a south-westerly direction past Finchley old church, now hidden from it by modern villas, and between Hendon and Golder's Green it passes to meet the other stream by the Welsh Harp. In the earlier part of its course it is scarcely to be distinguished from the other brooklets with which this country-side is full, but as it gains volume on its way towards Finchley it becomes dignified by the name of the Dollis brook; and although it still continues

to run almost an unnoticeable course among the fields, already ripe for the speculating builder's harvest, the presence of the stream among the meadows is marked by the great railway viaducts which span the valley like the lines of the aqueducts across the Roman Campagna. The second branch, which is known as the Silk, leaving its source at High Wood Hill, flows southward, and picking up the overflow of the lake in Canons Park and

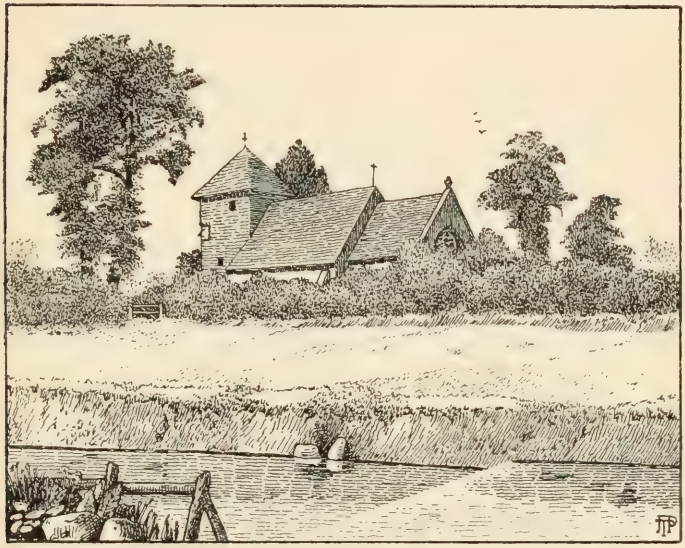

FIG. 42.—PERIVALE.

some brooks from Great Stanmore, runs behind the picturesque High Street of Edgware and joins the other stream under the slopes of Kingsbury behind the Welsh Harp. Both the Dollis and the Silk at the present time run in sunken courses so deep in places that their banks are almost cliff-like, their channels having been worn down when the streams were of greater volume than they are now. And this is due partly to the fact that at one time they flowed through dense forest, the clearance of which

has so diminished the rainfall of the district, as well as to the tapping of the original sources for manufacturing purposes by artesian wells. It thus happens that in summer time the streams are almost dried up, while in rainy seasons the amount of water is sometimes unpleasantly great; so that here and there recourse is had to dams to regulate the flow, and by one of these at Finchley bridge a little lake has been formed, the shallow sides of which are exceedingly pretty in summer time with reeds, wild flowers, and numerous water-fowl.

At the junction of the two streams is the well-known Kingsbury reservoir, a lake some two miles long and half a mile broad, which was formed in 1838 by a great dam built across the valley for the purpose of supplying the locks of the Paddington canal. Until quite recently the aspect of this lake was extremely rural and picturesque, and was at one time a famous resort for wild fowl; herons were not uncommon, and even such birds as the golden oriole and the tawny owl were to be seen in the neighbourhood. But of late years the mean streets about the Welsh Harp, which have been built down to the water's edge on the east side, and the dominating chimneys of the Neasden electric works, which belch forth blackness over the western end of the lake, have entirely destroyed its original charm.

On the north side of the lake, approached from the Edgware Road by a way rejoicing in the curious name of Cold Duck Lane, rises the hilly and well-wooded ground which is crowned by the little church of Kingsbury. According to tradition, it obtained the name from having been one of the hunting lodges of Edward the Confessor, who, for a saint, was remarkably addicted to the chase; and all around among the other trees are numerous oaks which may have sprung from those of the primeval forest of Middlesex.

From the point where the junction of the Dollis brook and the Silk stream is made, the river Brent commences

to run its course of twelve miles to the Thames. As to the origin of its name there is much divergence of opinion, which to some extent may be due to the various modes of spelling adopted at one time and another which seem to bear but little relation to each other. We get it almost invariably as a prefix to the ford, and seldom alone as the name of the river. The earliest form seems to be the modern one of Brentford; but Offa, King of Mercia, in describing the town in a charter of 780,

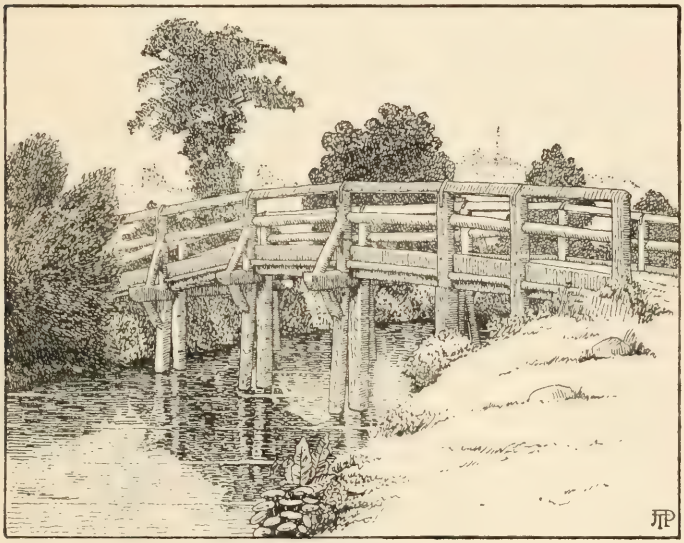

FIG. 43.—GREENFORD BRIDGE.

says, "*in loco celebri aet Bregantforda*," while Pepys, in his *Diary*, calls it both Branford and Brainford. Whether the river gave the name to the town, as might be expected, or the town gave it to the river, seems equally uncertain, and, if the former be the case, the difficulty is to find the origin of the river's name. Mr. Montague Sharpe, taking *Bregant-forda* as an ancient name, suggests *bregant* to mean muddy or turbulent, which would doubtless be a correct description of its

state in the early days, when it drained a large forest area; and, if for "muddy" were substituted "dirty," would correctly describe some parts of it now. Mr. Walford, in his *Greater London*, suggested that the name might be Brenin-ford, which would be translated "King's way," and be descriptive of either road or ford. The Celtic word *bre*, which signifies a high place, or *bryn*, a hill-side, may have been used on account of the sources of the river being in the hill to the north still known as High Wood Hill; and there is the extremely simple suggestion, which is only improbable because rivers more often give their names to, rather than take them from, the towns on their banks, that the name is derived from the fact that when as an adjunct to the ford across the Thames, a ferry properly equipped with the landing-stages of a Roman *trajectus* had been burnt in some little war, the Saxons gave it the natural and obvious name of Brent-ford.

The water leaves the reservoir in two streams; the one full and ever flowing and the other a trickling streamlet often dry. The former runs direct from the reservoir in a narrow artificial channel to supply the waste of water in the locks of the Paddington canal, and such water as the canal can spare falls over the dam into the old channel of the Brent. This meanders through the manufacturing district of Neasden; and where once through the primeval forest a river ran at whose pellucid waters the wild animals drank, is now an untidy ditch of almost stagnant pools choked with multitudinous and indescribable refuse of a busy suburb. Nothing better describes this mile or so of its course than the words of Ruskin, in the account of the Wandle by Carshalton in his *Crown of Wild Olive*, into which, he says, "The human wretches of the place cast their street and house foulness, heaps of dust and slime, and broken shreds of old metal, and rags and putrid clothes; they having neither the energy to cast it away, nor decency

enough to dig it into the ground, thus shed into the stream, to diffuse what venom of it will float and melt, far away, in all places where God meant those waters to bring joy and health."

Fortunately, at the back of Willesden, comes in a considerable affluent from the north, which to some extent makes up for the water drawn off for the canal, and gives it, at last, more the appearance of a river. This affluent rises just below Bentley Priory, crosses the Harrow Weald, and, passing through Wembley Park, runs a course of about seven miles before it joins the main stream; but although it does much to replenish its volume it cannot, unfortunately, wash out all the impurities gathered on its way through Neasden, nor destroy the poison in the waters with which it has become impregnated. Not so very many years ago the river below this point was full of fish, and, looking over the side of the little bridges by which it is crossed, one might have seen any quantity of cray-fish crawling gaily along its pebbly bed; but the chemical overflows have now made it a dead stream. The river now pursues a westward course, and passes Twyford Abbey, an abbey only in name, with the high ground of Hanger Hill and Castle Bar rising behind it on the left bank, till it reaches the parish of Greenford Parva, where on the right bank is seen its curious little church, generally known as Perivale (fig. 42). A little further along, after receiving a small stream which comes down from Greenford Magna, it takes a sharp turn to the south, and holds that course for another five or six miles until it reaches its mouth. Just at the turn of the stream it runs under one of the old-fashioned, if not very old, wooden bridges which are fast disappearing, and which, through the increasing motor-traffic of the roads, are everywhere being reconstructed in unpicturesque ironwork (fig. 43).

The Brent now runs a very sinuous course in a deeply-eroded channel through low-lying fields, which are

frequently flooded after heavy rains, when this part of the valley presents, from the neighbouring high ground, the appearance of a great lake. Where it runs round the base of the hill crowned by the modern spire of Hanwell church, and just before passing under the Great Western Railway viaduct, it is crossed by a little bridge which carries a footpath from Hanwell in the direction of Northolt and Hillingdon. This path Mr. Montague

FIG. 44.—BOSTON MANOR HOUSE.

Sharpe, in his *Antiquities of Middlesex*, claims to have been an ancient British trackway, and, on a map he has published, traces its course from Brentford ford to the north of the County. Ancient or not it is very pretty, and, standing above the bridge and looking north-west over the open country of the valley, it is difficult to believe that immediately behind is a populous suburb, through which the London tramcars are continuously running.

After passing through the viaduct and under the Uxbridge Road bridge, it again comes across its old enemy the canal, but under a wholly different guise. At the reservoir the canal robbed it of all it wanted, but here, in renewing the acquaintance, it pays it back with its overflows. This canal which it here meets is the Grand Junction canal, which connects the Midlands with the Thames at Brentford, and Brentford by the Padding-

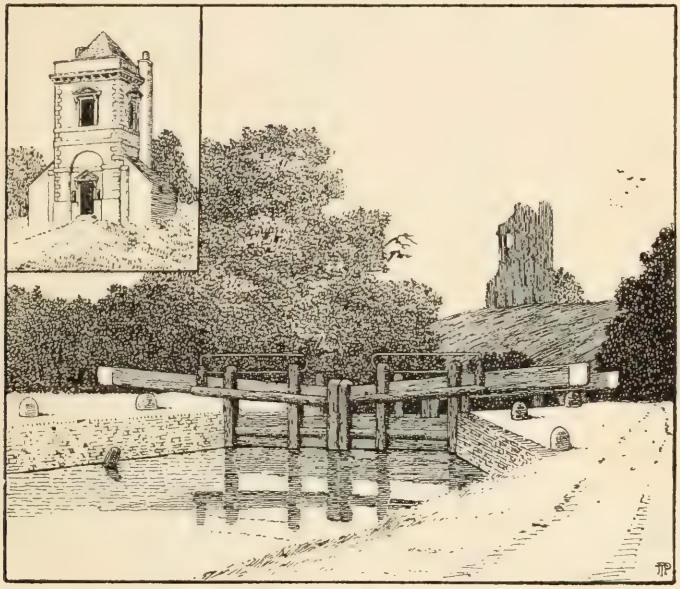

FIG. 45.—BOSTON LOCK AND THE BELVEDERE ON SYON HILL.

ton canal with the Thames below bridge. Its level just before reaching the Brent is considerably above that of the valley, and the sudden drop is dealt with by six locks close together, which some imaginative traveller has compared with those of Trollhätten on the Göta canal, in Sweden. When they were constructed, a hundred years ago, they were regarded as a clever engineering feat, and they were later made the more noticeable by the fact that just by the first lock the

Great Western ran a branch of their line under the canal, while above it, at the very same point, the public road is carried on another archway, from which, looking down, one may see a barge passing beneath, while below that, at the same moment, is steaming a train.

The river and the canal now running between high ground on either side become almost inextricably mixed up, or the river only shows itself here and there where its bends have been utilised to receive the overflow of the canal, and after each lock they come together again at the same level. The high gravelly ground on the left bank after leaving Hanwell, now being rapidly covered by streets of small houses, was once crowned by a Roman camp, the plan of which Mr. Sharpe has laid down on his map, and in which, according to his theory, Cæsar received the submission of some of the British chieftains. Opposite, on the right bank, the trees of Osterley Park cover the hill tops, and the river receives the overflow from the great lakes with which Sir Thomas Gresham ornamented it, and which, in spite of the neighbourhood of the ever-encroaching London, are still famous for their reed-growth and the number and size of their dragon-flies. The river and canal, flowing in one bed under an arch bearing the unpleasant name of "Gallows Bridge," come now in sight of the trees on the left bank which closely surround Boston House, the Jacobean house of the manor of Bordesdon, the only manor in Brentford (fig. 44). The house was very much damaged by fire some years ago, and some of the beautiful woodwork was destroyed; but much of it may be found delineated in the works of Richardson, and some of the more elaborate ceilings have been reproduced lately in Mr. Bankart's *Art of the Plasterer*. At the lock above Boston House we get a view (fig. 45) of a curious half-ruined belvedere, standing by itself among what are now market gardens, on the hill overlooking Syon House. It is a two-storied tower, the upper chamber of which

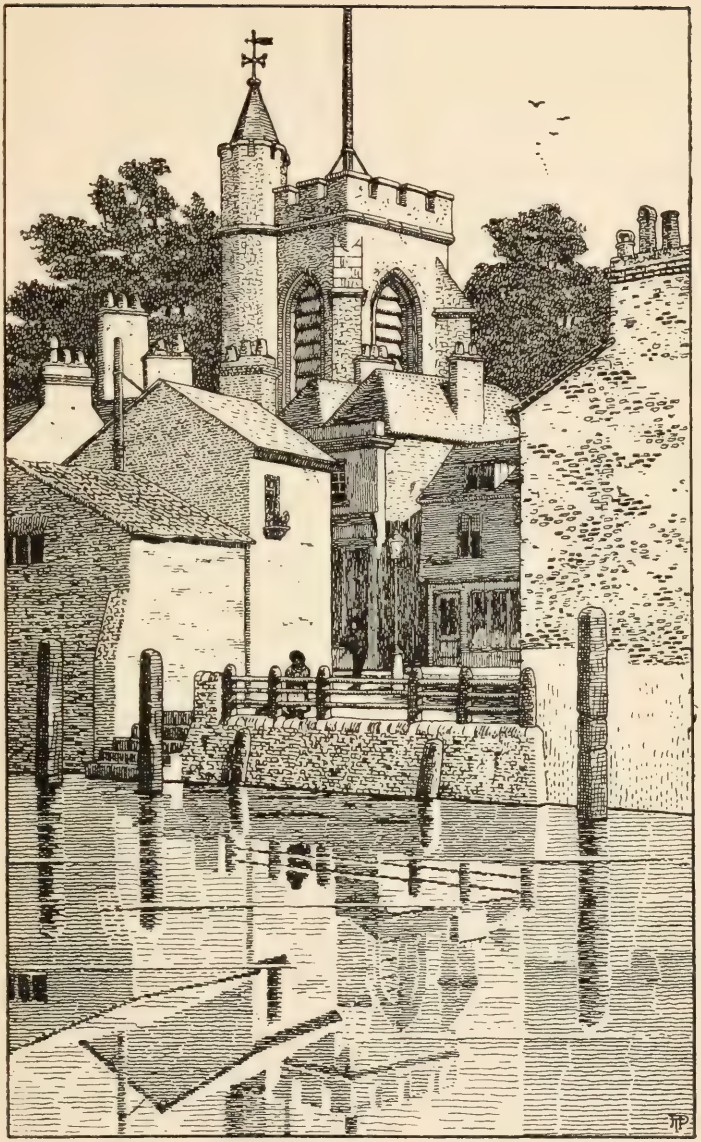

FIG. 46.—THE OLD CHURCH OF NEW BRENTFORD.

appears to have been a banquetting room which enjoyed a beautiful prospect of the Thames and the Surrey hills. It is a late eighteenth century building, but is not mentioned in the books, and its history seems to be entirely forgotten.

A short walk further along the well-wooded bank of the river brings us, after passing under another railway bridge, in view of the busy county town which is so frequently described, but perhaps rather unfairly, as "beastly" Brentford. It is only in quite recent modern times, and since it gained this name, that the great gas and manufacturing works, which might have justified it, came into existence, and it has been plausibly suggested by one who has studied the subject that it may be due to the remarkable zoological character of the signs which distinguish its many inns and public-houses.

Brentford is a somewhat anomalous place. Although recognised as the county town of Middlesex, it has no corporate existence, and is divided into two districts known, respectively, as Old and New. It is not even parochial, as New Brentford lies in the parish of Hanwell, while Old Brentford is in the parish of Ealing; while the portion which is called "Old" lies wholly along the banks of the Thames at the northern end of the ancient ford, the part which is called "New" is on the banks of the Brent, which is supposed to have given its name to the whole place. To increase the confusion of the two districts, the one which is known as "Old" contains all the modern manufactories and works, while the district known as "New" is the only one in which any signs of antiquity are visible.

As the river approaches Brentford bridge we get a glimpse of the oldest remaining building in the fifteenth century tower of St. Lawrence, New Brentford (fig. 46), a tower of the usual Middlesex type, behind which stands a Georgian brick church of an uninteresting character. Brentford bridge, which carries the great western road

from London, and which occupies the site of an earlier Roman bridge on the same line of road, may still contain in its single arch some ancient work, but it has been of late years widened with iron girders, and so altered that any remains of antiquity are undiscoverable. According to tradition, although the bridge was free for the passage of the general public, all Jews were subject to a toll of a halfpenny each if on foot, or a penny if on horseback.

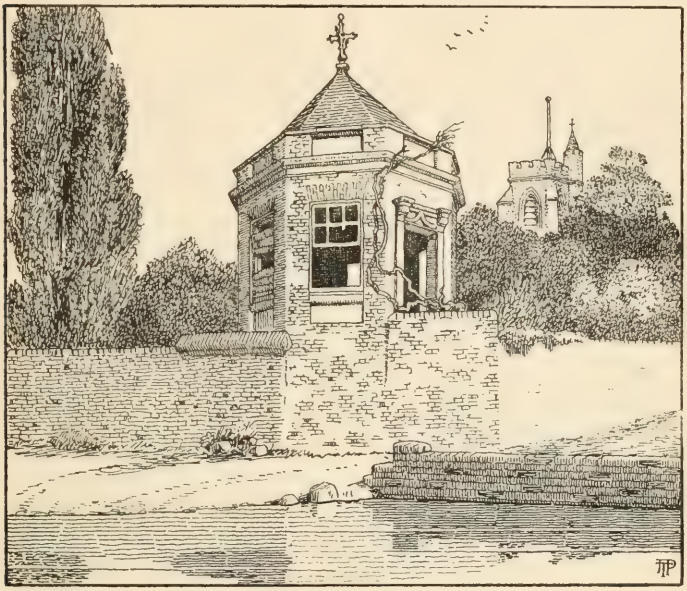

FIG. 47.—A DESERTED GAZEABO.

Just before passing under the bridge, the river, which had made a wide sweep round by the open space known as the Butts, and near which Mr. Sharpe, on his map, shows a large British circular fort, rejoins the canal, and thence to its mouth continues in its own channel, though widened and deepened for navigation purposes. But, besides these alterations, another one was made which entirely altered this part of the river. Originally

it had at least two mouths to the Thames, but the more direct one, and perhaps the more important one, was closed up, with the result that the island of the delta, which used to be known as "Old England," lost its insular character, and the appearance of this part of Brentford was entirely changed. This is much to be regretted from an archæological point of view, since there seems to be but little doubt that here or hereabouts was the position of Cæsar's memorable crossing of the Thames.

The closed mouth of the river formed the eastern boundary of the grounds of Syon House, and opposite to it, on the left bank of the river and just where now the ugly girder bridge of the railway crosses it, lies a ruined garden and in it a dilapidated gazeabo (fig. 47), which doubtless, in the eighteenth century, enjoyed a pleasant prospect of the Thames and the Surrey hills, but which now commands only the canal banks and the dock walls. Into the other and widened mouth of the river open a great number of small creeks, which now form wharves and docks, but which a hundred years ago were surrounded by the gardens of the old houses, of which many still remain along the high road, and here and there, among the sheds and outbuildings, a forlorn apple or pear tree may be seen, the sole survivor of the earlier orchards. One such creek (fig. 48) lies at the foot of a lane known as Catherine Wheel Yard, which Mr. Sharpe regards as marking the site of an ancient British trackway, and the actual point at which Cæsar commenced his march across Middlesex.

The place at which Cæsar crossed the Thames was for long considered to have been at Halliford, some distance further up the river, where the stakes discovered in the bed of the stream, known as Cowey Stakes, were supposed to have answered to his description. But those stakes are arranged in lines crossing the stream, and would have formed no defence against an enemy, and

seem rather to have been intended as a security to persons or cattle crossing the ford against being washed away by a strong current. The fact that the river was occasionally fordable at Brentford had already been noticed; indeed, in Bishop Gibson's time it was found that the water at Old Brentford, below the mouth of the Brent, was only three feet deep at low ebb, and was easily forded. At the time of making the Brentford

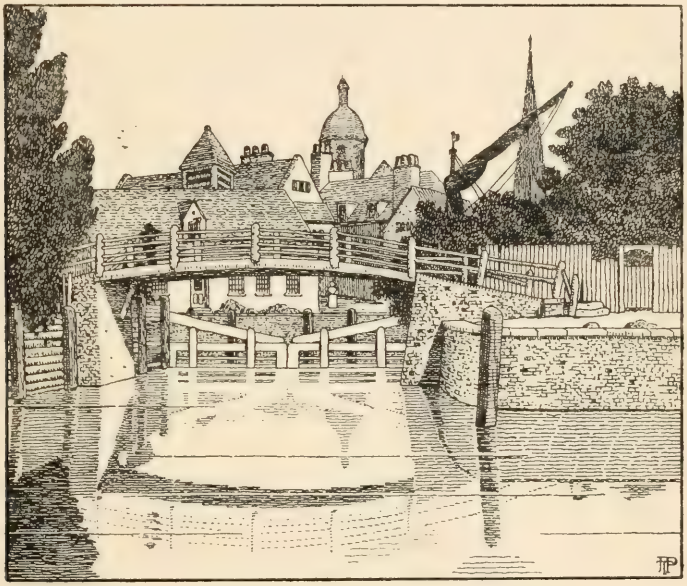

FIG. 48.—A BACKWATER IN THE DELTA.

dock for the Great Western Railway, a line of formidable looking stakes was discovered, following the curve of the shore, which were of a distinctly defensive character, and further discoveries which showed that these stakes extended for some distance up and down the river—being doubled in some places—have added weight to the theory now generally adopted that this is the exact site of Cæsar's crossing. Nevertheless, there

are some difficulties in regarding this as altogether proved. By crossing at this point on to the island of the delta he had yet to cross one of the mouths of the Brent; but, although this mouth is now both broad and unfordable, it was very likely, before it was canalled, much narrower, and at low tide little more than a ditch. Moreover, both the island and the mainland beyond were a hard gravel soil giving a good foothold, whereas a little lower down the river, below the mouth of the Brent, where it may have been slightly shallower, and where the ferry is now situated, the shore was low, and made swampy by a small stream which there ran into the Thames.

The island of the delta was scooped out in the middle to form the dock for the railway company, and it is surrounded with the goods warehouses and buildings of a railway station, so that its ancient appearance is entirely destroyed, and at the point of the island a group of not unpicturesque barge-builders' sheds look down on the great lock gates through which now issue to the tide-way of the Thames the waters of the river Brent.

ENVOY

With the Pilgrimage of the Brent we conclude our collection of Memorials of Old Middlesex. Much of our space has been devoted to a description of antiquities which have passed away or are even now threatened with destruction; but we have seen how in the numerous parks of the County reminiscences of the ancient forest lands and important houses associated with historic events and great names still survive; and although no abbey or castle ruins remain to tempt the pencil of the artist, yet in the numerous but little known village churches which we have described, there is much to be appreciated by the architect

and the ecclesiologist. No other English county can boast a longer continuous history, extending, as it does, to nearly two thousand years; and small as it is, yet in possessing within its borders the capital city of the Empire, no other county can compare, either in the importance of the events which have transpired and in the great names of those who have resided within it, or the part it has played in the history of the country, with the County of Middlesex.

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